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Williamsburg Architectural Studies

WILLIAMSBURG ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES SERIES

The Public Buildings of Williamsburg
The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg

The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg

The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg

A STUDY OF ARCHITECTURE AND BUILDING
IN THE COLONIAL CAPITAL OF VIRGINIA

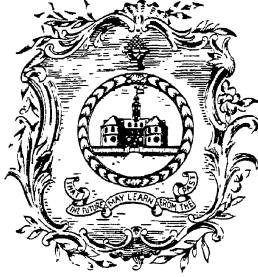
Marcus Whiffen

ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIAN, COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

Williamsburg, Virginia

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Foreword

N HIS PERCEPTIVE and vigorously written book, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, Marcus Whiffen tells the story of buildings constructed to meet the official needs of the Virginia colony and its capital city. These public structures display a common characteristic worth one further note: they are not arrogant intrusions on an otherwise harmonious architectural scene. Their size or form, their setting or exterior style might elsewhere entitle them to dominate the smaller, more modest buildings sitting within their shadows. But in Williamsburg there is no such uneven competition for the eye of the beholder. Weatherboard does not pay homage to brick, nor tapered chimney to cupola. The Governor's Palace, in spite of its presumptuous name, looks upon its Palace Green neighbors as friendly if less ambitious relatives. To them it shows neither disdain nor indulgence; in them it notices neither shame nor deference. Elsewhere, the city's dwellings, shops, and outbuildings reciprocate the good architectural manners exhibited by the far less numerous public buildings. From this attitude of mutual respect comes the architectural unity of Williamsburg.

In the second volume of the Williamsburg

Architectural Studies, Mr. Whiffen scrutinizes with equal care the Williamsburg houses that remain from the eighteenth century. These survivors have been generous with their secrets. Apart from their historical interest, which he fully exploits, they have provided many precedents for the authentic reconstruction of other colonial houses that had disappeared and thus are not treated in this book. The use of these precedents grew out of a fact implicitly established in this volume: the conventional character of design and construction in Williamsburg houses. It was the studious recapture of the knowledge of this character that made the restoration of Williamsburg architecturally possible.

Williamsburg's builders were neither technical innovators nor decorative geniuses. They were competent craftsmen who did not look far beyond their immediate assignment of adapting English forms to a New World setting. If they had a genius at all it was a genius of taste, an awareness that space and scale were tools that could be as useful as the pitsaw and the molding plane. Most of the frame houses, writes the author, "are of English village types, but have a generousness of scale and a sophistication of detail hardly to be found in their English counterparts."

The visitor to Williamsburg is more likely to sense than to observe this scale. But the perceptive eye will pick out its elements in robust moldings, large door and window openings, generous room heights, oversize brick, steep roofs, and massive chimneys. Architects today are trained to design a building whose exterior appears appropriate in scale to the average human figure. By such a test Williamsburg houses would have been constructed to accommodate citizens who were an average of seven feet tall.

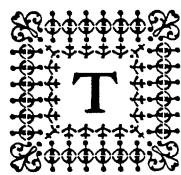
Therein lies much of the charm of what has come to be called the Williamsburg style. It is a style that frequently eludes its modern imitators, who are likely to overlook the scale, and to discount the colonial builder's consciousness of lot development as a part of

the house. Disciplined by a well-ordered town plan, the builder looked at his house in relation to its essential adjuncts: the outbuildings, the planting, fences, and paths, and the other houses that touched upon, or might eventually touch upon, his own property. The effect he created was one of beauty without pretentious ornament, of harmony without monotony.

That beauty was functional, not applied. The Williamsburg house evolved honestly from the basic necessity for shelter. In the pages that follow, Mr. Whiffen shows why it took the forms it did, and how beauty appeared as a welcome dividend of utility. Out of his skillful analysis and explanation, the reader will rediscover the truth that what is pleasant to the untrained eye can with understanding become delightful.

ERNEST M. FRANK
Director of Architecture
Colonial Williamsburg

Author's Acknowledgment

 HIS BOOK, like *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, owes what value it may be found to have to the labors of many people, and especially those—architects and archaeologists, antiquaries and historians—who over the past thirty years have collected, arranged, and (very often) interpreted that mass of source material which is embodied in the research reports in the files of Colonial Williamsburg. Without them it could not have been begun.

Without the personal interest and help of certain of those same people it could hardly have been finished. Foremost among them was Singleton P. Moorehead, who was my mentor, constantly resorted to, in the niceties of colonial design and construction. Not only did he read the manuscript and make many valuable suggestions, but his knowledge, supplemented by that of another colleague learned in the matters there discussed, Paul Buchanan, supplied the substance of the greater part of Chapter V—which because of the scarcity of published information about eighteenth-century building construction I think may be regarded as the most valuable in the book.

Other members of the Architect's Office of Colonial Williamsburg who gave the manu-

script, or parts of it, the benefit of their perusal were Ernest M. Frank, John Henderson, and A. Edwin Kendrew. All made suggestions that I was glad to follow. Albert M. Koch, maintaining the high standard set by Mr. Moorehead in *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*, has illustrated the book with drawings such as any author would be proud to see on his pages.

In Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Research, Mrs. T. Rutherford Goodwin and Miss Mary A. Stephenson gave freely of their time and knowledge, and Mr. Mills Brown directed my attention to several matters concerning craftsmen and their tools which otherwise would have escaped me. Professor Frederick D. Nichols of the University of Virginia, who read the manuscript for the publisher, is a fellow worker in the field of architectural history whom I am happy to have to thank. And it gives me pleasure to record a debt of gratitude to Alonzo T. Dill, Jr., who generously presented me with a typescript copy of his "Documentary History of the Governor's House at New Bern, N. C.," prepared in connection with the reconstruction of that monument; this was my source for most, if not all, of the references to building in North Carolina that appear in these pages.

Lastly, but not least, I wish to thank Mrs. John A. Marion, who typed, with an accuracy that never ceased to astonish

me, both the final copy of the manuscript and more drafts than she probably cares to remember.

MARCUS WHIFFEN
September, 1959

NOTE ON THE FOURTH PRINTING

THIS PRINTING contains new information about the buildings discussed that has come to light in the last ten years and describes restoration activity that has affected them physically during the same period. The text of Part I is virtually unchanged. In Part II the most important corrections rendered necessary by new historical data occur in the section on the house formerly known as Captain Orr's Dwelling, the George Reid House. This used to be thought to date from the 1720s; it has now been shown to have been built between 1789 and 1792. That so many things about its plan and structure could have seemed to support the earlier dating makes it a classic example of the conservatism of the Virginian house carpenter and (with rare exceptions) his clients.

Wetherburn's Tavern is the most important house to have been acquired and restored by Colonial Williamsburg since the book first appeared. It was therein illustrated and briefly commented upon, as the Bland-Wetherburn House, under the head of "Other Eighteenth-Century Houses" at the end of Part II. It now has a section to itself, as does

each of the other houses that were grouped under that head. Several of the floor plans in Part II have been redrawn, while the total number of plans has been augmented by three (the Orrell, Ewing, and Charlton houses); the elevation of the Wythe House in Part I has also been redrawn, to correct an error that was obvious enough to go unnoticed for years; certain photographs have been replaced by newer or better ones.

The work of revision was carried out by Thomas K. Ford of the Publications Department of Colonial Williamsburg, in consultation with other members of the Colonial Williamsburg staff. In increasing the accuracy and usefulness of the book he and they have earned every reader's gratitude, as well as its author's.

Since I left Williamsburg, too many of the friends I made there have gone where, as Dr. Johnson sadly observed, no letters are received. Among them is one whose help was invaluable when I was writing this book, which therefore I now dedicate to the memory of Singleton P. Moorehead.

M. W.
Phoenix, Arizona
July, 1969

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Abbreviations

A. P. S. D. : Architectural Publication Society's *Dictionary of Architecture*, 11 vols., edited by Wyatt Papworth (London, 1853-1892).

O. E. D. : *Oxford English Dictionary*.

V. G. : *Virginia Gazette*.

For references to the *Virginia Gazette* the system used by L. J. Cappon and S. F. Duff, *Virginia Gazette Index 1736-1780*, 2 vols. (Williamsburg, 1950), has been adopted. Names of printers are abbreviated as follows:

C : Clarkson & Davis

D : Dixon & Hunter, Dixon & Nicolson

P : Purdie, 1775-1779

PD : Purdie, 1766, succeeded by Purdie & Dixon

Pi : Pinkney

R : Rind

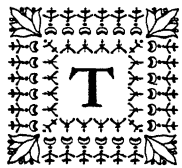
Before 1766 there was only one paper of the name, and references to issues antedating that year do not include the printer. In references to issues of 1766 and later, the printer is followed by the day of the month, the year, the page, the column. Thus R27Ap69:31 may be written out in full as Rind, April 27, 1769, page 3, column 1.

V. M. H. B. : *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

W. & M. Q. : *William & Mary Quarterly*.

Y. C. R. : York County Records.

Introduction



THE PRESENT VOLUME differs in an important respect from its predecessor in the series of Williamsburg Architectural Studies, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg*. In that the treatment, as is only proper in a history, is chronological; in this it may be described as cumulative.

To the meaning of that adjective in the present context we shall return in a moment. It must first be explained why a chronological treatment was not adopted, why in short this book is a “study” rather than a “history.” There are three reasons—one (a) connected with the state of our knowledge of the subject with which it deals, the second (b) with an intrinsic characteristic of that subject, and the third (c) with the basic purpose of this series as a whole.

(a) Whereas the history of each of the public buildings is more or less fully documented, little is known of the precise circumstances attending the erection of most of the eighteenth-century houses of Williamsburg, even the date being often in doubt. Much of the necessary framework for a strictly chronological treatment is therefore missing.

(b) Whereas each of the public buildings was in some degree a novel and original work for its time and place, there are few houses in Williamsburg of which this can be said; the great majority of them are examples of established Virginian types. Moreover, the domestic architecture of Virginia as a whole in the eighteenth century was more remarkable for the tenacity with which it clung to tradition than for any readiness to embrace change. A chronological treatment would tend to emphasize such change as there was at the expense of the conservatism that must strike anyone familiar with developments in the main centers of architecture in the eighteenth century as one of the chief characteristics of Virginian work of the period.

(c) Whereas our knowledge of the factors that made the public buildings what they were is derived from direct evidence, in the case of the houses we must often, owing to the scarcity of such evidence, proceed by analogy, reaching our conclusions with the assistance of what we can learn from any parallel cases that may happen to be better documented. The architects and historians of Colonial

Williamsburg have collected a great amount of such indirect evidence over the years, and, since the purpose of this series is to make the results of their research available, it seemed desirable to adopt a form that would allow indirect evidence more than the footnote status to which a chronological treatment would necessarily relegate much of it.

So instead of presenting the development of domestic architecture in eighteenth-century Williamsburg as a gradually unfolding story, this book attempts to present that architecture, as three-dimensionally as may be, through a cumulative system—by adding detail to detail.


Since without materials, natural or manufactured, there can be no building, it seemed logical that a chapter on that subject should come first. Chapter II treats of the master builders and craftsmen who wrought those materials into buildings, Chapter III of their professional equipment, the tools that they used and the books to which they turned for

guidance or inspiration. In Chapter IV we consider the factors, cultural and economic, climatic and legal, that affected the general design of the Williamsburg house, and in Chapter V its design and structure in detail. These five chapters, which constitute Part I of the book, contain much of the indirect evidence referred to; but we rarely stray far, in space or in time, from eighteenth-century Williamsburg. In Part II we never leave the town, for this part consists of a pictorial survey of the eighteenth-century houses that remain, with a text dealing with the history and architectural character of them individually. Part II is in a sense complete in itself, since the visitor to Williamsburg may use it as a guide in his perambulation of the place without (or, one would prefer to think, *before!*) reading the five chapters that precede it. Yet the two parts do, it will be found, complement each other—I was about to say as the two leaves of a diptych, but that would seem to make an artistic claim for what has been conceived as a work of information rather than of art.

Part I

CHAPTER I

Building Materials and “Necessaries”

HROUGHOUT the colonial period in Virginia the chief building material was timber. Since by the beginning of the seventeenth century there was a serious shortage of timber in England¹ (where rural building was still predominantly carpenter's work in many areas, including the populous southeast), the forests of the new land were among its most promising assets in the eyes of the first colonists. The composition of those forests in the seventeenth century was quite different from what we see today.² There were many more hardwoods then, and the common softwoods were the longleaf pine (*Pinus palustris*) in the Peninsula and the coastal plain to the south of it, and the loblolly (*Pinus taeda*) and the shortleaf pine (*Pinus echinata*) in the lower Piedmont and in the Tidewater north of the York River. Today there is little longleaf pine, while the other pines growing in Virginia are not to be compared with it for building purposes. In general, the timber standing in Virginia when the colonists arrived was of better quality than later growths, owing to the more com-

petitive conditions prevailing in the virgin forests, which ensured the survival of the most resistant stocks only and which made for slow growth and consequent closeness of grain.

The authorities in England lost no time in trying to exploit this asset of apparently unlimited timber. On no less than three occasions before the revocation of its charter in 1624 the London Company sent over workmen—Dutch, Polish and German—skilled in the erection of sawmills driven by water power.³ They had to be foreigners, for there was no sawmill in England until 1663.⁴ (And twenty years later than that, as we shall see in a moment, Dutch sawmill machinery was still reputed to be the best.) How many sawmills were actually built in Virginia during the first quarter-century of settlement is obscure. But there were certainly some working by 1632.⁵ Owing to the lack of fast-running streams, they never became as common in Virginia as they did in New England.

The circular saw, which itself has long been superseded for most purposes by the band saw, was not introduced into America until

the second decade of the nineteenth century. The cutting part of the first sawmills was essentially a framed pitsaw⁶ moved up and down by a crank-driven connecting rod, the power being transmitted from the shaft of the water wheel to the crankshaft through gearing. The log or balk to be cut into boards or scantlings was moved against the saw—or saws, for two or three might be mounted side-by-side in the frame—either by a carriage with a rack-and-pinion device or, in a variety of the machine described and illustrated by Edward Williams in *Virginia's Discovery* in 1650, by weights and pulleys.⁷ In 1685 William Byrd I wrote to the London merchants Perry and Lane for those parts of such a sawmill which could not be made in Virginia:

I have inclosed Sent for the iron worke of a Saw Mill, w:^h I desire may bee Sent by the first Ship, & that the Cranke may bee made exactly according to the inclosed patterne. If it is cast (without flaws) it may doe best; the Racke & Nutt must fitt; I am told it may bee best & cheapest had out of Holland, but I thinke wrought iron is prohibited, therefore I must leave it to you, onely earnestly desire that great care may be taken (in the Cranke especially) that the iron worke bee well & Exactly according to the dimensions inclosed, for I hope my timber worke will bee finished before the End of 7b^r next.⁸

It is not possible to determine the proportion of mill-sawn to pit-sawn timber used for building in the seventeenth century in Virginia. But it is worth note that in the accounts for the largest of all the building works of the century, the erection of the first building of the College of William and Mary in 1695–

1698, payment for sawyers was an important item.⁹ For the first quarter of the eighteenth century we have Hugh Jones's testimony that although sawmills were among the few useful inventions to which Virginians had been "persuaded," and "the great benefit of them" was well known, there were not as many as there might have been.¹⁰ "I am certain," he wrote, "that if more sawing-mills were set up there, it would bring great profit to the owners, employ more people there, and make timber for ships and houses come at a much cheaper rate in England, than it now does, without any loss to the English landed gentlemen or timber merchants."

From the first, sawmills had been proposed as an adjunct to shipbuilding: as Jones recognized, it was in preparing timber for export to the mother country that sawmills could play an important part in the economic life of the colony. This they were destined to do towards the end of the colonial period, when advertisements of sawmills became common in the pages of the *Virginia Gazette*. The first of these advertisements appeared over the name of Samuel Hargrave in 1769:

I HAVE built a saw-mill at the falls of *Pamunkey* river, where any person may be supplied on reasonable terms with any quantity of the best pine plank and scantling; or I will deliver it at any landing on said river as low as *Newcastle* town. My view is to serve the public as well as myself; and give this notice to all persons who have obstructed a free passage of the river, from the falls to *Newcastle*, by mills, stem stops, hedges, trees, &c. as soon as possible to remove the same, or I shall be under the necessity of making use of the act of Assembly.¹¹

Sometimes the announcements have an additional interest in that they specify the kinds of wood that can be supplied, as does that of William Aylett, of King William County, which appeared in 1774:

PLANK and SCANTLING to be sold by the Subscriber at his Saw Mill near *Aylett's Warehouse, Mattaponi River*, upon the most reasonable Terms, and of the following Kinds, *viz.* White Oak, Black Walnut, Sweet Gum, Ash, Poplar, Birch (which makes elegant Furniture), best Yellow Heart Pine for Flooring, and clear of Heart and Sap, if required, common high Land and Slash Pine for other Uses, A reasonable Credit will be allowed, and *European or West India Goods* received in Payment. I shall prepare several Sets of Plank and Scantling for executing *Hobday's Wheat Machines*, which, or any other kind of Plank or Scantling, I can send to *Norfolk*, or any part of *York River*. . . .¹²

In the nine years following 1769 there are more than seventy references to sawmills in the advertisement columns of the *Virginia Gazette*. Yet man power was not completely superseded, as those same columns show: in 1771 Benjamin Chapman of Brunswick County, "having Half a Dozen Pair of SAWERS," announced that he "would be glad to undertake, from the Stump, or otherwise, any considerable Job of sawing, within sixty or seventy Miles of Home, upon reasonable Terms";¹³ in 1772 Samuel Long, "at the Halfway House between *York* and *Hampton*," sought to "hire by the Month or Year, a Pair of good SAWERS";¹⁴ and in the same year "sawers" were among the workmen advertised for by the master builder Robert Du Val

of Richmond.¹⁵ When Du Val died, early in the following year, his "sixteen valuable Slaves" included four sawyers,¹⁶ and it seems likely that in Virginia most of what Hugh Jones called "the stupid slavish work of sawing"¹⁷ was in fact done by slaves.¹⁸

In Williamsburg and its neighborhood the woods used for house frames were yellow pine, poplar, and oak, in that order of frequency, with gum as a rare fourth.¹⁹ The many species of oak that grow in Virginia must have greatly impressed the first colonists, who had come from a country where oak was the time-honored building timber, but the Virginian oaks were found to be less lasting than the English species.²⁰ Weatherboards and exterior trim were of yellow pine or poplar; the thin boards sometimes used for covering roofs were of oak.²¹ For shingles, which were exported from Virginia to Madeira and the West Indies in sufficient quantity to give occasion for an act of Assembly regulating their size,²² cypress was the favorite wood in Williamsburg, as it was throughout the colony, with yellow pine²³ and white cedar also used. No shingles of oak (which tended to warp and to rot around the nails) or of chestnut have been found in Williamsburg, although doubtless they were used there, as they certainly were elsewhere.²⁴ Window and door frames were of yellow pine, poplar, or oak, and window sashes, which were customarily shop-made and kept in stock by carpenters for any job that might come along,²⁵ might be of yellow pine, poplar, walnut, or cherry. Doors were of yellow pine, poplar, oak, or walnut. The same four woods and also white pine were used in paneling; and yellow pine, poplar, and walnut for internal trim (cornices, chair rails, baseboards) and for handrails and balusters. Floorboards and

stair treads were invariably of yellow pine, and the nosings of brick steps were of oak. For fence posts cedar and locust were the preferred woods; the rails of fences were usually of poplar.

BRICKS, MORTAR AND PLASTER

There were two bricklayers among the first settlers at Jamestown; six more, and four brickmakers, were included among the tradesmen accompanying Sir Thomas Gates in 1610, and bricks continued to be made in Virginia throughout the colonial period. In the case of a brick house of any size, the bricks might be made for the job on the site or near it.²⁶ It is conceivable that they were sometimes specially made when only the chimneys, or the chimneys and the cellar, were to be of brick; but it is reasonable to suppose that in such cases it would generally have been cheaper to buy them ready-made. In the period 1740-1744 the planter James Bray of Littleton (below Carter's Grove on the James) sold 83,350 bricks to twenty-five purchasers in and around Williamsburg, including tradesmen, professional men, the College of William and Mary, other planters, and a bricklayer (John Baskerville);²⁷ doubtless Bray had built his kilns in the first place to burn bricks for his own use. Forty years later the bricklayer Humphrey Harwood, as his surviving ledger shows,²⁸ was supplying the bricks for the numerous small jobs that he undertook in Williamsburg; that he also made them is indicated by items in the inventory of his property in 1789:

300 bushels of lime, a kiln of burnt brick about 25,000.

A kiln of raw brick about 15,000.²⁹

In England there were proclamations and statutes from time to time regulating the dimensions of bricks; Nathaniel Lloyd, the historian of English brickwork, cites an instance from the fifteenth century of an official brick mold being kept in the moot hall, like other official measures.³⁰ There is no record of any special regulations of this kind in Virginia. Occasionally the English standards may be referred to. For instance, a Virginian statute of 1662 set the price of "bricks being statute bricks and well burned" at 150 pounds of tobacco per thousand,³¹ and in 1719 the agreement for the churchyard wall at St. Peter's, New Kent County, specified "Bricks to be according to the Statute something less than Nine Inches in Length, two Inches and one quarter thick, and four Inches and one quarter Wide."³² But examination of colonial buildings in Virginia shows variation in brick size not only from one building to another but even in one wall. This is no local peculiarity, for similar variation is to be found in England.³³ Its cause in inferior work may be failure to fill the molds to capacity; sometimes it must be due to variation in the size of the molds, most often, perhaps, to different shrinkage in burning. If such variation seems to us a matter for surprise, it is because we tend to equate efficiency with standardization, a habit of mind not shared by our ancestors living before the industrial revolution.³⁴ Early attempts to regulate the size of bricks were prompted simply by the desire to prevent fraud.

It has been the fancy of many antiquaries that it might be possible to date buildings by the size and shape of the bricks used in them. No such method would be accurate enough to be useful in dating the colonial buildings of Williamsburg and its neighborhood. Never-

theless, a general development in the matter of shape can be detected. The author of the most thorough study of brickmaking in the area yet published, based upon excavations at Jamestown, has written:

Study of bricks from all structures excavated at Jamestown suggests that the bricks made during the first half of the seventeenth century were slightly longer and thinner than those made during the latter part of the century. Similarly, there is a marked trend toward shorter, narrower, and thicker bricks during the next century.³⁵

More noticeable to the casual observer than the variation in the size of bricks is the variation in their color. Generally speaking, the trend here is from light to dark, and corresponds to an improvement in the quality of the brick that must be due to increased technical skill and a more thorough knowledge of the properties of the local clays. The difference in quality is most marked in the brick used not for facing walls, but inside them. In the earliest part of Bruton Church, for instance, and in the President's House at the College, some of this brick was found by Colonial Williamsburg architects to be very poor indeed.³⁶ The use of glazed bricks for headers in walls laid in Flemish bond, an attractive device inherited from English practice, proves that hardwood—oak or hickory—was used for burning the bricks, for when bricks were made by the old process for the purposes of restoration it was found that pine would not produce the desired glaze, even on the bricks nearest to the fire in the kiln.³⁷

The story that such-and-such a colonial house "was built of bricks brought from England" is one that should always be treated

with suspicion. But this is not to say that bricks were not imported into Virginia; records show that they were, and frequently.³⁸ Their importation was encouraged by laws that forbade the dumping of ballast in rivers. Ballast was a necessity in the lightly laden ships that came to fetch the tobacco crop, and bricks were a reasonably handy kind of ballast and one that could be sold. But the little ships of the eighteenth century could not hold a large number of bricks. The most recorded in the *Virginia Gazette* as having arrived in one vessel was 80,000.³⁹ When it is remembered that 600,000 bricks were ordered for the Capitol⁴⁰ it will be seen that that was not a great many. Presumably the imported bricks were used somewhere. But we cannot point to a single building in Williamsburg, or for that matter within fifty miles of Williamsburg, of which it can fairly be said that it was built of imported brick.⁴¹

To make bricks without straw is no problem when they are to be burnt in a kiln; but the very best burnt bricks are useless without mortar to hold them together. In Tidewater Virginia, as in all the other early-settled parts of British America except Rhode Island, there was no limestone to burn for lime to make mortar. So the colonists turned for their supply of that necessity to oyster shells. Of these there were practically limitless quantities available in Virginia, as John Clayton told the Royal Society in 1688.

In some Places for several Miles together, the Earth is so intermix'd with Oyster shells, that there may seem as many Shells as Earth; and how deep they lie thus intermingled, I think is not yet known. . . . In several Places these Shells are much closer, and being petrified,

seem to make a Vein of Rock. . . . Of these Rocks of Oyster-shells that are not so much petrified they burn and make all their Lime; whereof they have that store, that no Generation will consume.⁴²

Was shell-lime mortar known in England before 1607, or was it a New World invention? So far as the available evidence goes, it would seem possible that the latter was the case. Oyster shells were, it is true, used in building in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but when the form that use took is recorded it turns out that they were not burnt for lime, but were embedded in mortar to adjust courses of stonework when there was some irregularity in the shape or size of the stones.⁴³ The case for a New World origin is strengthened by the fact that the use and merits of shell lime in mortar were known in the mother country by the end of the seventeenth century.

This is not the place to describe lime-burning processes in detail; a note on local methods will suffice.⁴⁴ In the eighteenth century the field kiln, with built-up brick walls and a brick floor, was the type of kiln most used in Virginia, and lime was no doubt often burnt at the same time and in the same place as bricks. Sometimes, indeed, as was revealed in 1933 by the discovery of an eighteenth-century brick kiln near Yorktown that had a foot-thick layer of oyster shell lime above the top brick portion, it was burnt in the same kiln. At Jamestown in the seventeenth century coal was sometimes employed in the kiln; this must have been imported coal from England, and whether Virginian coal was used for the purpose after its discovery in 1701 would seem not to be known. It is likely enough that lime was sometimes burnt by

another method, which does not necessitate the construction of a kiln, and which was in use for its production for agricultural purposes until recent times.⁴⁵ In this, an open crib of pine logs, the successive layers crossing each other at right angles and the structure being about twelve feet square on plan, is built up to a height of five feet; on it is laid a floor of parallel contiguous logs to hold a layer of oyster shells, and on that the whole structure is repeated two or three times, so as to make a square tower.

Shell lime was used in plaster for rendering walls as well as in mortar. John Harrower, tutor at Belvedere near Fredericksburg, noted in his journal on October 31, 1774: "This morning two Carpenters was put to new weather board my house in the outside with featherage plank, and to new plaster it on the Inside with shell lime."⁴⁶ It was a far cry from that little schoolhouse to the great cathedral in which also shells played a part described by its architect when he wrote: "The vaulting of St. Paul's is a rendering as hard as Stone; it is composed of Cockle-shell-lime well beaten with Sand; the more Labour in the beating, the better and stronger the Mortar."⁴⁷ But many a slave in Virginia must have known as much about shell lime as Sir Christopher Wren did.

STONE

There is no freestone to be quarried anywhere near Williamsburg. The little that was used in building, for floors and steps, was brought to the town wharves by water, and most of it, even after the opening of the Aquia Creek quarries on the Potomac, seems to have come from Britain. Much of this imported stone must have been pre-cut, and one would think that there could hardly have been work to

support a mason in the Williamsburg area. But the diary of William Byrd II mentions "the stonecutter" in 1709 and 1712.⁴⁸

The stones most used were Purbeck and Portland.⁴⁹ Purbeck stone, quarried in the Isle of Purbeck in Dorset, was commonly employed in Williamsburg for paving interiors and porches, in flags of eighteen or twenty inches square and about four inches thick. Portland stone from the Isle of Portland, also in Dorset, was used for steps. This was the stone used for the rebuilding of St. Paul's, and it is likely enough that some of the Portland stone that found its way to Williamsburg was from blocks that had been quarried for the cathedral but rejected by Wren or his masons. Another stone commonly used for steps has been identified as blue Yorkshire stone, which was and is quarried in the Leeds area and presumably was shipped to Virginia from the port of Hull. Red Wilderness stone, from Mitcheldean in Gloucestershire, and Forest of Dean blue stone from the same part of England are both found; they must have been shipped from Bristol. More surprising, because the quarries were so much farther inland, is the use of Horderley stone from Shropshire, referred to when it was needed for the second Capitol in 1755 as "blue Shrosberry [i.e., Shrewsbury] Stone";⁵⁰ this too, presumably came via Bristol. From Scotland came Corsehill red stone, quarried near the Solway Firth at Annan, Dumfriesshire. This reddish sandstone, used in Williamsburg for simple steps and paving, crossed the Atlantic in larger quantities in the nineteenth century, to be used in many important buildings from Baltimore to Toronto.

Italian marbles reached Virginia as chimney pieces, carved in England and shipped in

knockdown form. (William Byrd's references to "the stonecutter" in 1712, noted above, relate to the installation of a marble chimney piece in the library at Westover.) Such chimney pieces were expensive items, more likely to be purchased for the plantation house than for the town house, which was generally regarded as a secondary establishment. So it is not really surprising that a mere half-dozen should have survived in Williamsburg, whose joiners were capable of producing very passable wooden substitutes. And even when money was no object the acquisition of a chimney piece from England was apt to be a hit-or-miss affair, as a letter written by William Nelson to Samuel Athawes in 1771 shows:

I send you inclosed, at the Request of Nat Burwell, a Draught of Chimney Pieces & Steps which he wants. If you understand it, or the statuary, it's more than I do. If you do, you will send them to him, observing to insure them.⁵¹

LEAD

Lead, which had to be imported, was not much used in building in eighteenth-century Virginia. As a roof covering it was not only expensive, and consequently confined for the most part to relatively grand buildings like the Governor's Palace and Rosewell, it was also, owing to the wide range of temperature to which the Virginian climate subjected it, unreliable.⁵² It says much for the skill of the colonial carpenter that he was able to make his roofs tight, even around the dormers, without lead flashing. Lead was, however, sometimes used over unprotected brickwork, such as belt courses and doorway pediments.⁵³ Eaves gutters and rain-water pipes were rarely employed.⁵⁴

Plumbing was evidently among the trades that Virginians thought, reasonably enough, were better understood in the mother country. This may be inferred from an advertisement that appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* in May 1769:

The subscribers having engaged a person from England, well acquainted with the useful branches of PLUMBING, GLAZING, and PAINTING, hereby inform all Gentlemen who please to employ them that they may depend upon having their work executed in such a manner as cannot fail of giving satisfaction, and upon most reasonable terms.

Kidd & Kendall⁵⁵

Five months later the same firm advertised again, specifying some of the uses to which lead was put:

At the LEAD MANUFACTORY, behind the church, may be had all sorts of sheet lead, pipes for conveying water from the tops of houses, cisterns, milk-pans (which will keep milk in the height of summer) and every other article in the plumbing business performed in the neatest manner, by

KIDD & KENDALL⁵⁶

A postscript states that gilding, painting, and glazing would be undertaken as usual, and it seems unlikely that plumbing alone would have supported a man in eighteenth-century Williamsburg. Of the two partners, both were occupied in other lines, Joseph Kidd being an upholsterer⁵⁷ and Joshua Kendall a carpenter, joiner, and wood carver.⁵⁸

HARDWARE

A certain amount of building hardware was made in Virginia. This we know from the

advertisements of smiths, such as that of David and William Geddy of Williamsburg, who in 1751 announced that besides smithery they carried on the "Cutler's and Founder's Trade" and could supply "Hinges, Squares, Nails and Bullions, curious Brass Fenders and Fire Dogs, House Bells of all sizes,"⁵⁹ or that of John Bell, blacksmith, who in 1766 advertised his impending departure from Williamsburg for Portsmouth, "where he will carry on his business in all its branches, make locks, hinges, jacks, etc."⁶⁰ Nevertheless, it is safe to say that throughout the colonial period most of the building hardware used in Virginia was imported from England. Many orders to English merchants for hardware have come down to us. And in a letter from the lawyer George Wythe to one of those merchants, dated July 18, 1771, there occurs a telltale phrase. "I am about building a small house," wrote Wythe, "and must be obliged to you for *the english materials*."⁶¹ The phrase here italicized, with the definite article with which it begins, indicates that there were certain things needed in building a house—even a small one—that customarily came from England. And the invoice enclosed with the letter shows what they were apt to be: it starts with tools ("A chest of Nice joiner's and other tools, to cost six or seven guineas, or even eight to be complete") and goes on to list paint and brushes, window glass, and all the manufactured hardware that would be needed, concluding with a cask of nails.

Nails were the most essential of all items of hardware. In building a house of timber they were needed for fastening pretty well everything except the principal members of the frame, which were fastened with wooden pegs. Throughout the colonial period nails were made by hand from iron rods. In Vir-

ginia in the early days they were evidently a scarce commodity: a 1645 enactment of the Assembly forbade people who were deserting their plantations to burn the houses in order to recover the nails and laid down that they were instead to be given as many nails as had been used in building them.⁶² The manufacture of nails on a commercial scale was never successfully established in the American colonies.⁶³

There were many special types of nail, called by a wide variety of names. In the inventory of the property of the Williamsburg carpenter James Wray,⁶⁴ who died in 1750, we find: *flooring brads*, which are nails with narrow heads that may be sunk into the wood to allow the passage of the plane over its surface; *clout nails*, which have flat heads and are used for nailing on ironwork; *dog nails*, which have the same function as clout nails but differ from them in shape in that their heads are raised; *round-head nails*, whose name is self-explanatory; and *bullins* (the "bullions" of the Geddys' advertisement, quoted above), which are nails with short shanks and convex heads used for fastening hangings and upholstery. The clout nails are divided into "2d clout nails," "3d d[itt]o," and "4d d[itt]o," while the round-head nails are described as "2d round head nails"; in addition we find "3d nails" "6d d[itt]o," and "8d d[itt]o," itemized. This was, as in England it had been for three hundred years or more, the usual way of specifying the size of nails. When it was introduced, 2-penny nails were nails that cost 2d. per hundred, 3-penny nails cost 3d. per hundred, and so on. In course of time the price of nails fell, but the names of the various sizes had become so familiar that they survived the loss of their literal meaning.⁶⁵ So Wray's 3d nails were appraised, not at

3d. per hundred or 2s. 6d. per thousand, but at 1s. 6d. per thousand.

Other sizes of nail found mentioned in the records are 4d,⁶⁶ 10d,⁶⁷ 20d,⁶⁸ "double 10d,"⁶⁹ and "thirty penny."⁷⁰ Brads too are found classified as 4d⁷¹ and 20d,⁷² while one of John Norton's customers ordered "2000 small brads the size of a 3d Nail."⁷³ In 1773 Lord Dunmore sent for 6,000 *tacks*.⁷⁴

Screws were sometimes used instead of nails for attaching hardware. John Robinson, who sent for the brads, ordered at the same time "1 doz bolts for fastning shutters with the Necessary Screws for putting them on";⁷⁵ Dunmore ordered "1000 Screws of different Sizes from 2 Inches to a ½ d[itt]o."⁷⁶ These would necessarily have been blunt-ended screws, for the pointed wood screw was not introduced until 1846.⁷⁷

After nails, hinges were the most important item of hardware. Before the Revolution they were never of cast iron, but of wrought iron, or, rarely, of brass. In Williamsburg, there were brass hinges in the central section of the Peyton Randolph house (c.1730) and in Tazewell Hall (c.1770),⁷⁸ in each case on walnut doors, and in 1777 an advertiser in the *Virginia Gazette* offered "a few Pair large Brass Hinges, Fit for large Doors."⁷⁹ The kind of hinge with which we are most familiar today, the *butt hinge* fixed on the edge of the door, although known in the eighteenth century, was little used in building until a cast-iron version was patented in England in 1775;⁸⁰ no wrought-iron colonial examples have been found in Williamsburg buildings.

Of the various types of hinge fixed on the face of the door the simplest was the *strap hinge*, consisting of a long horizontal strap with an eye that turned on a hook or gudgeon or pintle, which might be spiked into the

doorpost or set upon a plate. It would seem reasonable to suppose that most strap hinges were made locally. Derived from the strap hinge by the substitution of a "knuckle" with a pin inserted to connect the two plates, in place of the hook-and-eye, was the *T hinge* or—as it was usually termed both in England and in Virginia—the *cross garnet*. When James Wray died his stock included "9 pr. x garnetts wt. 41 lbs.," which were appraised (at £1 14s. per hundredweight) at 12s. 6d., and "12 small x garnetts," value 6d. each.⁸¹ Cross garnets needed to be more accurately made than the simpler strap hinges, and most of them were probably imported. In 1770 we find John Robinson ordering from Norton and Sons in London "6 pr large X-Garnets for barn doors" and "6 pr smaller d[itt]o for 4 Pannel d[itt]o,"⁸² while in the following year James Carter sent to the same merchants for "1 doz pr. large X-garnet Hinges at about 30/-."⁸³

H hinges and *HL hinges*—the terms are self-explanatory—are mentioned in the records perhaps less frequently than cross garnets, but surviving examples are rather commoner. Of *H hinges* Wray had six pair—evidently small ones since they were appraised at 3d. per pair.⁸⁴ *HL hinges* appear in John Robinson's order with the cross garnets: he needed "4 pr large HL for out Doors," "6 pr d[itt]o for 4 pannel d[itt]o," and "12 pr d[itt]o for window shutters."⁸⁵ George Wythe ordered "48 pr. HL rising joint for shutters," which were to cost £4, together with "48 pr. side hinges [for] d[itt]o."⁸⁶ Rising joint hinges are those in which the bearing surfaces of the knuckles are finished diagonally, so that the door is lifted when it is opened. A door so hung has a self-closing tendency, and rising joint hinges were sometimes fitted for that

reason; but their chief advantage was that they allowed the door to fit snug to the floor when shut and yet rise to clear a carpet when opened. The reference to side hinges indicates that Wythe was going to use the rising joint *HL hinges* for the folding leaves of inside shutters.

Finally there was the hinge now sometimes called the butterfly, but known to the eighteenth century as the *dovetail*. Wray had "2¹⁰/₁₂ doz. dove tails sorted," which were appraised at 8s. 6d.;⁸⁷ Wythe required "6 pr. 4 inch dovetail hinges," priced at £1 4s., and "3 pr. smaller d[itt]o."⁸⁸ Dovetail hinges were not suitable for doors of any weight and in building were chiefly used for cupboards. In the Wythe House at Williamsburg—not, it should be understood, the house for which Wythe ordered "the english materials" in 1771—they are employed for the folding leaves of the shutters. The best place in Williamsburg to see the other main types of hinge is the Brush-Everard House, where there are cross garnets, *H* and *HL hinges* (mostly with floriated ends) indoors, and strap and *HL hinges* on the outside shutters.⁸⁹

Door fastenings were of three kinds: latches, bolts, and locks. In the first half of the eighteenth century the *thumb latch* was doubtless the type of latch most used in the average Williamsburg house; its manufacture was well within the capabilities of any local smith. By the middle of the century the *knob latch* was beginning to supersede it, especially where appearance was a consideration. In 1750 James Wray's stock included "1 brass knob latch," value 2s. This was probably a *bow latch* with a spring, having a plate or open box fixed to the stile of the door so that the works were visible. Old examples may be seen on the upper floor of the Brush-Everard

House, and the "6 strong Catches with brass Nobs to them fit for Chamber doors" ordered from Norton by John Robinson in 1770⁹⁰ were doubtless latches of the same type.

Of bolts little need be said. Robinson's order for "1 doz bolts for fastning shutters," already quoted, describes their commonest function.⁹¹ A much used type of bolt for doors was the stout wooden bar running in iron staples.

Locks were generally of the type known today as the rim lock, but called by the eighteenth century the *stock lock*—that is to say, having a case of iron, brass, or wood fixed to the surface of the stile on the inside of the door. Wray in 1750 had "1—10 inch stock lock" appraised at 2s. 6d., and twenty-seven smaller ones whose value ranged from 7d. to 2s. 3d.,⁹² and Mann Page in 1770 ordered "6 large stock Locks" from Norton.⁹³ No eighteenth-century *mortise locks* have survived at Williamsburg, and they were probably not common in the colonial period. However, the house that George Wythe was planning to build at Hampton in 1771 was to have had them throughout, for his order to Norton included "2 Mortis locks large," clearly for the outer doors, costing £1 13s., and "4 ditto smaller" for room doors, costing £2 12s. 0d.⁹⁴

Nails, screws, hinges, and door fastenings, then, were the main classes of hardware needed for building a house, and more often than not were imported into Virginia from England. There were, of course, other things that had to be sent for from time to time. Three such appear in the invoice of goods ordered by Wythe: "40 2/2 wainscot pullies for sashes," "48 brass jointed rings for shutter," and "10 pieces flywire 3 feet 1 inch square."⁹⁵ The last item, insect screens as we

would say today, was an expensive one: it cost £10 15s., or more than half as much as the 400 panes of window glass ordered for the house. When Lord Botetourt died in the previous year, 1770, there had been "100 feet fly lattice" in one of the storerooms at the Palace.⁹⁶ But most people troubled with mosquitoes had only (for whatever it was worth) the "easie Remedy" described by Robert Beverley: "Whoever is persecuted with them in his House . . . let him but set open his Windows at Sun-set, and shut them again before the Twilight be quite shut in, and all the Musketaes in the Room, will go out at the Windows, and leave the Room clear."⁹⁷

GLASS

Glassmaking was one of the first industries to be introduced into British America, for glass was made at Jamestown in 1608–1609 and again in 1621–1624. But it did not take root, and all the window glass used in Williamsburg in the colonial period was imported from Britain. London and Bristol were doubtless the chief sources of supply of this "necessary," as of others. However, in 1752 the *Virginia Gazette* contained the following news item:

May 5. They write from Glasgow, that they have begun a new Branch of Manufacture, the making of best Crown Window Glass, which is already brought to great Perfection.⁹⁸

Since Glasgow was in the process of becoming the leading tobacco port, this was information of special interest to Virginians.

Glass is frequently listed as part of the cargo of newly arrived ships. In 1768, for instance, the *Virginia Gazette* noted a series of arrivals at Accomack with glass on board: on May 13, *Anne*, with "2 box of glass";⁹⁹ on

July 7, *Peggy*, with "three half boxes of glass";¹⁰⁰ on December 8, *Old Plantation*, with "1 box of window glass."¹⁰¹ These three ships had called at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia respectively, and the relatively small quantities of glass they brought may have been what had not been sold in those cities, or were perhaps individual orders for Virginian planters or tradesmen. A much more considerable importation of the commodity is recorded in an advertisement that appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* on January 18, 1770:

BOSTON, Dec. 4 [1769]

THE price of nails and window glass having been lately greatly advanced here, the publick are now informed that between four and five hundred casks of nails, and between three and four hundred boxes of glass, have been imported into this port, in the Captains Ware and Capesthorn, who arrived here a few days ago from Bristol.¹⁰²

It is remarkable that it should have been thought worthwhile to advertise these things so far from their port of arrival.

In 1772 Robert Adam and Company of Alexandria announced that they had "just imported, in the Ship *Martha* . . . from London . . . Common Window Glass, *London Crown Ditto*."¹⁰³ These were the two main kinds, and qualities, of glass used in windows. They were manufactured in different ways: window glass (often called table glass) was blown in cylinders, which were slit down one side so as to fall outwards into flat sheets, while crown glass was blown into globes which were twirled around by the glass blower and thus flattened into circular pieces by centrifugal action. Plate glass, which is not blown but cast and then polished, was used for mirrors

in the eighteenth century, but not until the nineteenth for windows.

The size of the "400 panes of crown glass," costing twenty pounds,¹⁰⁴ that were ordered by Wythe in 1771 is not specified. Panes of 8 in. by 10 in. are perhaps the commonest in surviving buildings, and occur frequently in the records. In 1768 an advertiser in the *Virginia Gazette*, James Lang, gave notice that there was in his warehouse at Tappahannock "a box marked TR in a piece, No. 1, containing 100 feet of 8 by 10 WINDOW GLASS, imported last summer from *Bristol*, which the owner may have on paying charges."¹⁰⁵ In 1779 the cabinetmaker Benjamin Bucktrout of Williamsburg, selling off his stock in trade before leaving Virginia, had "window glass 8 by 10" to offer.¹⁰⁶ John Lewis, on moving to Williamsburg from New Kent County in 1770, advertised two sizes of window glass, "8 by 10 and 10 by 12."¹⁰⁷ A third size appears in the goods ordered from John Norton and Son by Thomas Everard in 1773: "100 feet window Glass—11 Inches by 9½."¹⁰⁸

The interruption of trade with England by the Revolution necessitated the finding of other sources of supply, and in 1779–1780 the *Virginia Gazette* contains advertisements for window glass imported from France, Holland, and the West Indies.¹⁰⁹ It was not until 1792 that the manufacture of glass was established on a commercial basis in the former colonies, at Boston.

PAINT AND TAR

Paint colors were another import, and one of which it seemed that the colony could never have enough; advertisements of colors for sale in the *Virginia Gazette*, usually beginning "Just imported," are legion. Most paint colors were imported and sold in dry form,

to be ground and mixed with oil by their users. But by no means all. White lead is more often than not described in invoices as ground in oil, and other colors were ordered ready mixed from time to time. For instance, in 1739 William Beverley ordered from England "As much paint of a deep olive col^r ready ground with linseed oyl as will paint 200 yds wainscot,"¹¹⁰ and in 1771 Dr. James Carter of Williamsburg ordered from John Norton and Sons of London:

100 lb. White Lead Grd in Oil in 2 Cags
200 lb. Spanish Brown grd in Oil in 2 Do.
2 lb. Lamp Black—56 lb. Yellow Okar
grd in Oil¹¹¹

Almost every familiar color, and a number whose names at least are unfamiliar today, are mentioned in the records, though of course by no means every color mentioned was used in house painting.

Paints were among the things listed in the nonimportation agreements, and consequently were in short supply in the period immediately preceding the Revolution. "The White Lead is not to be had for Love or Money," wrote the Falmouth merchant, William Allason, to his brother-in-law in 1775; "what you have make go as far as you can."¹¹² There were those who took advantage of this shortage, if we are to believe the allegations of a correspondent in Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette* in 1775:

I would recommend it to this committee to take cognizance of a certain John Greenhow in this city. . . . It can be proved by many that he sells a number of articles at an advanced price of at least 200 per cent . . . yellow oker at 15d per pound, which cost 3d. sterling, and

lake at 6 l. per pound, which cost about 40s. &c.¹¹³

At the same time the need for Virginia-grown flax for linen resulted in a shortage of linseed oil. Contemporary reference to this is found in another of Allason's letters, also written in 1775:

By bearer I send you 4 Casks of Linseed Oil in place of the 2 which Mr. Williamson directed. My reason for it is that you need not expect any, or very little more, this season, owing to the Flax seed being bought up by those who intend sowing it for the purpose of making Flax. You will also observe that it is dearer than formerly also owing to the same reason.¹¹⁴

In June 1776 the prudent Mr. Greenhow still had linseed oil for sale "in casks of 11, 16, or 27 gallons."¹¹⁵

Of tar, which was used on shingled roofs¹¹⁶ and to a lesser extent on weatherboarded walls, there was never any shortage. In this case the flow of the commodity was in the other direction, for the production of tar in Virginia, from pines growing upon land unfit for tobacco, was encouraged by law,¹¹⁷ with the object of supplying the British navy. By the second decade of the eighteenth century as many as 3,500 barrels (each barrel holding thirty to thirty-two gallons) were exported from Virginia in one year.¹¹⁸

MATERIALS AND DESIGN

We have now surveyed the raw materials and the manufactured "necessaries" used in the houses of Williamsburg, and we have seen that with few exceptions the former were products of the colony while most of the latter were imported. Without materials there can

be no building; yet the effect on architectural design of the materials available was not so great as it might have been in an age less given to thinking of design in purely formal terms. In the eighteenth century the notion that design should develop out of the nature of materials was unheard of. According to Isaac Ware, as representative a spokesman

for the period as one could find, it was "the honour of the architect that the form triumph over the materials." Virginian architecture was inevitably modified by the ready availability of some building materials and the absence or scarcity of others, but the basic assumptions and aims of the Virginian architect were not.

CHAPTER II

The Building Crafts and Craftsmen



MAN MAY STAND in one or more of several relationships to a house that is being built—that of the owner who will pay for it, of the architect who has designed it and who supervises its erection, of the contractor who has undertaken to build it according to the architect's plans, of a laborer or a craftsman employed in the work. Today he is unlikely to be more than one of those things; sometimes in the eighteenth century, especially if the house was a small one, he could be said to be all of them at once. More often it would happen that he combined two of them, so that the historian finds it convenient to use such composite terms as owner-designer, builder-architect, and craftsman-contractor.

The building owner who did not design his own house, essential though he was in the scheme of things, concerns the historian of architecture only in so far as his individual needs, personal or professional, find direct expression in its design. Some instances of this will be noted in the second part of this book; The present chapter will treat of the

men whose connection with building was more permanent and specific. One fact that cannot be stressed too much is that at no time shall we be dealing with architects as we understand the term today, for the architectural profession had not yet come into being in America. The very term, architect, was much broader in meaning then. When in 1771 Thomas Jefferson wrote to a business correspondent, "I desired the favour of you to procure me an architect," it was a master builder he wanted, to execute his own designs.¹ In the eighteenth century almost anyone who could draw might give the design for a building, and in Virginia the superintendence of building works was sometimes committed to men who must have been recommended by a reputation for honesty rather than technical knowledge. Even the general contractor, or "undertaker," might lack training in any of the building trades, making up for it in the possession of slaves, the means to hire skilled workmen, and the equivalent of a good credit rating.² Nevertheless, it was on the competence of the trained craftsman that the building industry in eighteenth-

century Virginia rested. It is to his skill and taste that we owe most of what we find to admire in the buildings that have survived. To him, therefore, the largest share of our attention must be given.

APPRENTICESHIP

In Virginia, as in England, training in the building crafts was effected through the system of apprenticeship. In the Middle Ages apprenticeship had been regulated by the guilds; then in 1562 it had been made a national system in England by the Statute of Artificers. Since this statute was never reenacted in the colonies, the system here owed its general form to custom rather than to law, although custom was modified from time to time by colonial legislation bearing on one or more of its aspects. In England itself the letter of the law was beginning to be less strictly observed by the time Williamsburg was founded.

When an apprentice entered a master's service in Virginia an indenture was drawn up and recorded by the county clerk. Owing to the destruction of the James City County records in the Civil War, we are dependent for knowledge of apprenticeship in Williamsburg and its neighborhood upon the York County records. As a specimen indenture the following, dating from 1762, may be quoted:

This Indenture Witnesseth that John Webb an Orphan hath put himself, and by these Presents doth voluntarily and of his own free Will and Accord put himself apprentice to William Phillips of Williamsburg Bricklayer to learn his Art, Trade and Mystery; and after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve the said William Phillips from the day of the date

hereof for and during and unto the full end and Term of five Years next ensuing during all which Term, the said Apprentice, his said Master faithfully shall serve; his Secrets keep, his lawful commands at all Times readily obey; He shall do no damage to his said Master, nor see it be done by others, without giving Notice thereof to his said Master. He shall not waste his said Master's Goods nor lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not committ Fornication, nor contract Matrimony within the said Term. At Cards, Dice or any other unlawful Game he shall not play whereby his said Master may have damage. With his own Goods, nor the Goods of others without Licence from his Master, he shall not buy or sell. He shall not absent himself day or night from his said Master's Service, without his Leave, nor haunt Alehouses, Taverns, or Play Houses, but in all Things behave himself as a faithful Apprentice ought to do during the said Term, And the said Master shall use the utmost of his Endeavours to teach, or cause to be taught or instructed the said Apprentice in the Trade or Mystery of a Bricklayer and procure or provide for him sufficient Meat Drink Cloaths, Washing and Lodging fitting for an Apprentice during the said Term of five Years and for the true Performance of all and singular the Covenants and Agreements aforesaid the Parties bind themselves, each unto the other firmly by these Presents. In Witness whereof the said Parties have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals hereunto dated the 21st day of June in the Second year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third King of

Great Britain Annoque Domini one
thousand seven hundred and sixty two.

John Webb

William Phillips³

The things enjoined on and forbidden to the apprentice varied hardly at all, whatever the master's trade, although the form of words might vary: Henry Johnson of Elizabeth City County, binding himself to Nathaniel Hook of York County, carpenter, in 1709, undertook not to "keep Company with any Lewd Woman,"⁴ while Henry Burradall, binding himself to Matthew Burradall of the same county and trade in 1750, was not to "haunt bad Suspected Houses."⁵ In rare instances the prohibition of matrimony might have to be dropped because the apprentice was already married—as perhaps was Moses Armes, "lately an Inhabitant of the Province of Maryland," whose master John Moss of York County, house carpenter, promised in 1766 "to pay him for the first four Years Service Yearly the Sum of six Pounds Cash the Year and one pair of Shoes and Stockings Yearly and every Year and the fifth or last Year to pay him the Sum of ten Pounds Cash with one pair of Shoes and Stockings as before."⁶

An annual payment such as that made by Moss to Armes was quite exceptional. It was usual, however, for a gift to be made to the apprentice at the end of his term. In the Webb-Phillips indenture transcribed above no such gift is mentioned. This is because in 1753 the Assembly of the colony had passed *An Act for the Better Government of Servants and Slaves*⁷ in which it was laid down "that every servant, male or female (except convicts) not having wages, shall, at the expiration of his, or her time of service, have and receive three pounds, ten shillings, current money, for free-

dom dues, to be paid by his or her master or owner. . . ." With the matter thus taken care of by law, there was in theory no need to commit it to paper, though some apprentices (or, more often, their parents or guardians) chose to play safe by writing into the indenture that they should be given "such Freedom Dues as the Law directs."⁸

Before the act of 1753 the gift to be made to the apprentice at his freedom was often specified in the indenture; it always took the form of clothes or tools or both, though Daniel Pegram, apprenticed to Thomas Whitby of James City County, carpenter, in 1703/4 could have money instead of the tools—"a Gentile Suite of Clothes & Carpenters Tools to the worth of five pounds or five pounds Sterling money."⁹ (His brother George, apprenticed five months later to Daniel Duvalle of Gloucester County, joiner, was to receive "a broad Cloth Suit of Apparrell, two Downlass Shirts one pair of Shoes one pair of Stockins & a hatt.")¹⁰ When Owen Morris was bound to the same Whitby in 1711 the value of the tools to be given him was set at six pounds.¹¹ In the indenture of 1709 by which, as we have seen, Henry Johnson abjured the company of lewd women, the tools that Nathaniel Hook had to give him are actually named: "One Broad Ax, one Hand Saw, three Augurs, one Gouge Three Chissells & three Planes all New Tools"¹²—a peep into the tool chest of the journeyman carpenter setting out into the world for which we may be grateful. The later indentures in the York County records are less specific. In 1746/47 John Harvey, carpenter, agreed to give John Garron "one suit of Cloaths befitting such Apprentice & as many Carpenters tooles as will build a common Clabboard House."¹³ In 1750/51 William Langston of Warwick

County, carpenter, promised to give his brother Enos at the expiration of his five-year term "four Pounds Current Money or the Value thereof in such Goods as the said Apprentice shall think fit to have likewise as many tools as shall be thought Sufficient to build a Clapboard House."¹⁴

The Statute of Artificers had laid down for apprentices in England a minimum term of seven years. This was longer than was needed to learn most trades, and the seven-year term was never uniformly adopted in the colonies.¹⁵ In Virginia—to judge by the York County records—the commonest arrangement was for the apprentice to serve until he reached the age of twenty-one. In some cases this in fact meant seven years; in others—as when in 1753 a mulatto woman bound her seven-year-old son to the Yorktown carpenter, John Richardson¹⁶—it could mean twice as many; but as a rule it probably meant less. Specified terms of service for apprentices entering the building trades in York County vary between three and eight years.

The payment of premiums to masters for taking apprentices was certainly not unknown in Virginia, though it is hard to determine how common the practice was, because such payments were private transactions between the master and the parent or guardian and did not have to be entered in the indentures. Occasionally in the York County records one comes across instances in which at least a part of what might be considered a premium was spread over a period of years and so formed an item in the bargain between the parties concerned. When Frederick Bryan, an orphan, was bound for eight years to the carpenter Benjamin Powell in 1756, "the Guardian of the said Frederick" agreed "to pay the said Powell forty Shillings per Year and also

his Levies out of the Profits of his Estates."¹⁷ In 1757 Ellyson Armistead, binding his son James Bray Armistead to John Brown of Bruton Parish, carpenter, for five years, promised to "find & provide for the said James during his Term aforesaid good and sufficient Cloathing &c and to pay his Levies and that he the said James shall Claim no Freedom dues."¹⁸ In 1765 James Taylor of Williamsburg, carpenter, taking Thomas Robinson as an apprentice for a five-year term, gave the usual undertaking that he would provide "sufficient Meat, Drink, Cloaths, Washing, and Lodging fitting for an Apprentice," on the condition that Robinson's guardian, Thomas Chisman, pay "annually two Pounds Seventeen Shillings towards the same."¹⁹

Besides being instructed "in the Trade or Mystery" or "Art and Mystery" or "Science or Trade" of his master—the precise phrasing varies from one indenture to another even when the master is one and the same man—the apprentice might be taught to read and write. The earliest building craft indenture in the York County records to contain a clause stipulating this dates only from 1752;²⁰ the apprentice's age was eighteen. The introduction of the clause at this time was doubtless encouraged by the act of Assembly of 1748 that required that *orphan* servants and apprentices should be taught to read and write;²¹ in the later 'sixties and in the 'seventies it appears in twelve indentures out of fifteen. In only one case is there any mention of the third R, when John Howlett of Gloucester County, carpenter, undertook that Charles Moss should be taught "to Read Write and Cypher."²²

There is no reliable means of telling how apprentices were generally treated in Virginia. Now and again the *Virginia Gazette* con-

tained an advertisement for an apprentice who had run away—which of course does not necessarily mean that he had been ill treated. Occasionally more than one made off at once, as when in 1767 James Geddy and Francis Smith advertised from King William Court House that two apprentice carpenters and an apprentice bricklayer had left them.²³ It was a master's duty to try to recover a run-away apprentice. But he might feel that the youth was more trouble than he was worth, and he might show it too. When William Bolton ran away from the Williamsburg carpenter and joiner James Gardner in 1773, the advertisement stated: "He ran away once before, when a Handful of Shavings were offered as a Reward to any Person who would apprehend him."²⁴

By far the greatest number of apprentice-ship indentures in the York County records relate to the building trades. A statistical analysis of these probably gives a fair idea of the relative numbers of men employed in the different trades, although of course it does not give anything approaching the actual number employed in any trade. Of forty-eight indentures dating from the period 1700–1780, thirty-six record the binding of apprentices to carpenters (including "house carpenters" and "carpenters and joiners"), seven their binding to bricklayers and five their binding to joiners; of the thirty masters concerned twenty-one were carpenters, six bricklayers, and three joiners. The ratio of carpenters to bricklayers is much what one would expect from the ratio of carpentry to brickwork in the building of the period; the small number of joiners may be accounted for by the fact that many carpenters undertook what was strictly speaking the joinery in the houses that they built. In the following pages we shall

treat first of the carpenters and joiners, and then of the bricklayers.

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS

When Williamsburg was founded building craftsmen were still scarce in the colony. In 1700 three carpenters and three bricklayers came from England to work on the Capitol,²⁵ just as a few years previously "several" workmen (trades unspecified) had come from England for the building of the College of William and Mary.²⁶ And many—if not most—of the skilled men there had been born and perhaps also trained in the mother country. Among these was James Morris, carpenter, who in 1712–1714 built the nave and chancel of Bruton Parish Church under contract.²⁷ Of him we are told, by one of his grandsons, that he "came in Virginia with Coll. Ludwell Gen^t. . . and was an Englishman Born." No doubt we should make some allowance for the effects of family pride when the same authority describes him as "Cheif workman in the City of Williamsburg." Nevertheless, with his large holdings of land, amounting in 1704 to 1,150 acres,²⁸ he was clearly a person of consequence. He lived outside the city limits, on the north side of Queen's Creek,²⁹ which is the creek referred to in the following document, here quoted for its interest in describing a transaction of a type that must have been common enough in colonial Virginia, where ready money was always in short supply:

This Bill shall obleige me James Morris my Heirs &c. to pay to Christo. Jackson or Order the summe of Twenty Shill. of Curr. Money of Virga. or 6 Days Work of a good Carpinter (to be at the Choice of the sd. Morris which he will do) when

the sd. Jackson shall demd. the Same also the frame of a Sixteen foot Square house and the sd. Morris to bring the sd. frame upon a Lott in the City of Williamsburgh where the sd. Jackson shall Direct the sd. Jackson bringing the sd. frame over the Creek and to find Morris's Team Corn whilst they are about bringing in the sd. frame and the workmen Dyet whilst they are at work about it as Wittness my hand this 8th day of Augt. 1714.³⁰

When Morris died, 1717/18, his personal estate was appraised at £100 odd;³¹ some of his tools, as listed in the inventory, will concern us in the next chapter.

James Morris's own house has gone, and Bruton Church is the only building in Williamsburg with which we can definitely connect him. To his contemporary Richard King even less surviving work is attributable, although his own house, known latterly as Greenhill,³² stood until early in the present century. King, as we learn from his will,³³ was the son of Mark King of South Mimms, Middlesex, husbandman. In 1716 he purchased from the trustees of the city of Williamsburg no less than nine lots—nearly the whole of the block bounded by Prince George, Henry, Scotland and Nassau Streets—for the sum of £6 15s.³⁴ One might think that a master builder buying four and a half acres of land in what was at least nominally a city would have done so with a view to building upon it and reselling. But speculative building of that kind, which was responsible for the development of so much of London in the eighteenth century, was at no time much practiced in Williamsburg. Whatever King's original intentions, when he died in 1727/28

his own house (valued at £20) and his out-houses were all that stood on the property. Although he had no land holdings comparable to Morris's, the value placed upon his personal estate, a little over £206, was more than twice that of Morris's.³⁵ His possession of two books on architecture is, like Morris's tools, a subject to which we shall return.

Although nothing approaching a trade precinct system in the true sense of the term is to be detected in the distribution of tradesmen in Williamsburg, there was a natural tendency for property to pass from one owner to another within the same group of trades. Thus in 1736 James Wray, carpenter, bought two lots on the north side of Prince George Street, west of Henry Street, from David Minitree, bricklayer, for £86.³⁶ And nine years later, in 1745, he bought the lot on the same side of Prince George Street immediately to the west of Nassau—the lot on which the house known today as the Timson House already stood, and the only one of the ten in the block that had not been purchased by Richard King—for £60 from the widow of William Pegram, bricklayer.³⁷

Wray was a man of means. When he died in 1750 he had eighteen slaves, and household goods and tools of trade worth more than £650.³⁸ The inventory of his personal estate gives an impression of solid middle-class comfort and culture. Among his pictures, of which he had twenty-six on the walls (in addition to "a parcel of old prints"), were "2 greenwich hospitols." There is something touching about his possession of these engravings, as they must have been, of that great building complex beside the Thames, so very much grander than anything Mr. Wray, carpenter, of Williamsburg, could ever hope to be concerned with personally. He

was, however, concerned at different times with two at least of the most important buildings in the colonial capital, carrying out repairs at the College in 1739 and surveying the Governor's Palace to determine what repairs were necessary ten years later.³⁹

Another carpenter of prominence around the middle of the century was John Wheatley, who leased the house that then occupied the site of the present Custis-Maupin House, on Duke of Gloucester Street opposite Bruton Church, from 1746 until some date prior to 1757.⁴⁰ In 1751 he did carpentry, including sash work, for the new Capitol, and in September that year he entered into a contract for work in the repair of the Palace.⁴¹ At the same time, in 1751-1752, he was carrying out the structural carpentry for Carter Burwell at Carter's Grove, under contract;⁴² the accounts show that the contract price was £200, paid in four equal parts, and name four men—Edward Hansford, Jenkins Watkins, Hollywood, and Thomas Wade—who worked for him. These accounts contain a separate entry for work to the value of £21 done in Wheatley's shop in Williamsburg—a fact which gives some indication of the great preponderance of work done on site when a large plantation house like Carter's Grove was under construction. Smaller houses, and houses in town, doubtless contained more shopwork.

As the century wore on, building tradesmen took more and more to advertising their services in the press. As a rule the announcements are brief; for example, in Dixon and Hunter's *Virginia Gazette* of April 1, 1775, John Lamb, house carpenter and joiner of Williamsburg,

BEGS Leave to inform the Public that he carries on the said Business on his

own Account, and that it shall be his constant Study in prosecuting the different Branches of the same to give Satisfaction to all who may please to employ him.⁴³

Sometimes the advertiser will mention one or more of his specialties. In 1771 James Gardner, carpenter and joiner (whom we have seen offering a handful of shavings for a runaway apprentice), announces that he has opened shop behind the church and that he makes window sashes.⁴⁴ In 1770 Joshua Kendall, house carpenter and joiner, begging "leave to inform the publick that he has removed to a house nearly opposite to Doctor *James Carter's*, in the back street," and averring that "all Gentlemen who shall honour him with their commands . . . may depend on their being faithfully and expeditiously executed, upon the most reasonable terms," adds:

He also makes and carves CHIMNEY PIECES of wood, as ornaments to any Gentleman's apartments; and likewise makes the best and newest invented *Venetian* SUN BLINDS for windows, that move to any position so as to give different lights, they screen from the scorching rays of the sun, draw up as a curtain, prevent being overlooked, give a cool refreshing air in hot weather, and are the greatest preservatives of furniture of any thing of the kind ever invented.⁴⁵

The announcements of Lamb and Gardner and Kendall show a determination to get on. As a reminder that the building trades, in Williamsburg as elsewhere, had their failures, we may quote an announcement dating from 1767, by a man who wanted to get out:

By great severity, and many misfortunes, the subscriber is rendered incapable of carrying on the CARPENTER business in the manner he has done for several years past: He therefore would be glad to engage with any Gentleman by the year, either in *Virginia, Carolina, Florida*, or the *West Indies*.—He has tools for eight or ten hands.

JAMES ATHERTON⁴⁶

The most successful carpenter in Williamsburg during the third quarter of the century, Benjamin Powell, seems never to have found it necessary to advertise his services. Powell is first recorded as a Williamsburg resident in 1753, when his daughter Hannah was baptized in Bruton Church,⁴⁷ and when also he bought a lot (no. 30) on the north side of York Road for £10.⁴⁸ In the conveyance of the latter he is described as a wheelwright, but in subsequent documents as a carpenter or as a house joiner—until after the Revolution, in 1782, he becomes “Gent.”⁴⁹

For nearly a decade and a half the only information we have of Powell relates to his deals in real estate. In 1755 he obtained a patent for two more lots (nos. 35 and 36),⁵⁰ whose former owner had died before being able to build on either of them the “one good dwelling house, containing 20 feet in length and 16 feet in width at the least with a brick chimney thereto” which was requisite for “saving” a lot in this section of the town. One of these (no. 35) he sold in 1757 for £150⁵¹—a sum which, together with the reference in the conveyance to “all buildings, yards, gardens,” indicates that he had built a house upon it; the other went to John Brown, carpenter (who has received mention in the section on apprenticeship), in 1758 for £10.⁵²

Meanwhile, in 1756 and 1757, he had added lots 34 and 31 respectively to his holdings.⁵³ Lot 34 he evidently improved to some extent, for when he sold it, within a year, he received £50.⁵⁴ Lot 31 he combined with lot 32, which he bought in 1758,⁵⁵ and in the course of time built upon the double lot that resulted. He sold part of lot 32 to Simon Whitaker, bricklayer, in 1764 for £35,⁵⁶ and the remainder of the two lots to the carpenter, John Lamb, whose *Virginia Gazette* advertisement we have noticed, for £140 ten years later.⁵⁷

Benjamin Powell presumably lived on this double lot for a time, for between the sale of lot 30 for £150 to his brother Seymour in 1760⁵⁸ and his purchase of lots 19 and 43 in 1763⁵⁹ it constituted, so far as the records show, his only property in town. Lots 19 and 43, on the east side of Waller Street near the end of Nicholson Street, are the site of the house whose present name, the Powell-Waller House, commemorates his ownership. Since he paid as much as £75 for the two lots there was evidently a house upon them when he took possession; however, it is reasonable to attribute to Powell himself the form to which we see the Powell-Waller House restored today.

In 1764–1765 Powell did more than £388 worth of work at the Publick Gaol;⁶⁰ in 1767 he was chosen to fill one of five vacancies on the Williamsburg city council;⁶¹ in 1769 he undertook the addition of a steeple to Bruton Church, evidently to his own design;⁶² in the same year he was paid nearly £80 for repairs to the Capitol;⁶³ in 1771 he was awarded the contract for building the Public Hospital to the design of Robert Smith of Philadelphia, an undertaking which he completed in 1773.⁶⁴ The fact that the three jobs overlapped sug-

gests that he had a considerable shop, though in this connection it is important to remember that being a carpenter he would sublet the brickwork—a large item in both the steeple and the hospital—to others.⁶⁵ By 1774 he was well enough established as a public figure to be made a member of the Williamsburg committee for the enforcement of the Continental Association.⁶⁶ And in 1776 we find him furnishing tents for the army (for £63),⁶⁷ receiving £590 odd “for work done on the Barracks & for the Troops in Williamsburg,”⁶⁸ directing the employment of “six slaves now in the public jail, the property of certain Tories . . . upon the prison lot for the use of the public,”⁶⁹ and appraising furniture in the Palace⁷⁰ and blankets and “other effects” taken in a prize ship.⁷¹ In 1779 he signed, as marshal of the Court of Admiralty, an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* of the sale of the contents of a captured privateer brig and sloop.⁷² In January 1782 his first wife, Annabella, died,⁷³ and in June that year he sold his house on Waller Street for £340.⁷⁴ In 1774 he had made two purchases of land, totalling 220 acres and costing him £840 in all, on the south side of Queen’s Creek,⁷⁵ and on this “plantation,” as we learn from a later deed,⁷⁶ he lived during his last years. In 1784 he was appointed a justice of the peace in York County.⁷⁷ In 1791 he died, leaving to his second wife, Fanny, two-thirds of his “Household and Kitchen furniture (excepting Plate) half a Box of Sugar now in the House, fifteen Gallons of Wine and all the old Rum,” and desiring his executors to “inclose the lot in Williamsburg whereon John Bryan now lives and remove the Kitchen thereon to such part of the lot as my said wife may chuse and to refit the same in a frugal and comfortable manner.”⁷⁸

Benjamin Powell’s career shows to what prominence a master craftsman could attain in the Virginian scene. The pity of it is that we know so little of the building works—apart from the public undertakings—from which the wealth that raised him up was presumably derived.

BRICKLAYERS

Bricklayers, as we have seen in our survey of apprenticeship, were less numerous than carpenters, and the evidence suggests that they were less apt to enter into general contracts. One of the few bricklayers of whom we know more than the bare name was David Minitree. Presumably the son of the smith of the same name, who worked at the Capitol and the Gaol in 1710,⁷⁹ he is first met with in 1723, when he bought lot 317 from Henry Cary for £10;⁸⁰ in 1725 he followed this up with the purchase of the neighboring lot, no. 316, for £15 from the trustees of the city.⁸¹ Sometime before July 1736 he rented these two lots to the carpenter, James Wray, who was occupying them when in that month he purchased them, as we have already seen, for the sum of £86. Perhaps Minitree was living in that part of Williamsburg which lay in James City County, for which the records are lost; or perhaps he was already in possession of the plantation that was offered for sale after his death thirty-eight years later.

From the early 1730’s, it would seem, dates the earliest of the buildings attributable to Minitree: Mattapony Church, in King and Queen County, where his name appears on a brick over one of the doorways.⁸² In 1746 we find him working still farther afield, on Marlborough, the house of John Mercer in Stafford County; there he made and burnt 104,604 bricks at 4s. 6d. per thousand,

stacked and burnt 11,200 more at 1s. 6d., and built part of the house (which has disappeared) for £45 10s. 4d.⁸³ In 1751 he undertook the brickwork of Carter's Grove, James City County, for Carter Burwell.⁸⁴ The bricks for this were evidently made by Burwell's own servants or slaves, though Minitree burnt them; the contract price—for brickwork only—was £115, and Burwell was pleased enough with the result to make Minitree a present of £25. Minitree was also responsible for glazing the windows of the house (540 panes or "squares" at 2½d. per square).

The Carter's Grove accounts tell us that Minitree had a son. That his family affairs did not always run smoothly we learn from the following notice in Joseph Royle's *Virginia Gazette* of February 12, 1762:

Whereas my Wife *Elizabeth* has eloped from me, without any reasonable Cause, I do therefore forewarn all Persons from crediting her on my Account, as I will not pay any Debts she may contract.

*David Minnetree*⁸⁵

David Minitree died before December 1774, for on the first of that month Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* contained an announcement of the sale of his James City County property:

To be SOLD on Tuesday the 20th Instant on the Premises, the Tract of Land whereon David Minitree, deceased, lately lived, containing 163 Acres, within five Miles of Williamsburg, adjoining Greenspring and Powhatan Swamp, chiefly Wood Land, and some excellent Swamp already drained, and now fit for a Meadow. The

Terms will be made known on the Day of the Sale.

JOHN BROWNE, Sheriff.⁸⁶

The bricklayer Samuel Spurr must have been David Minitree's junior by a few years. The first mention of him dates from 1749, when he bought lot 27, on the north side of York Road, from Benjamin Waller for the sum of £10, with the usual building clause in the conveyance;⁸⁷ in 1753 he added to his holding lot 28,⁸⁸ and in 1755 lot 29.⁸⁹ In 1752 he undertook the building of the wall around Bruton churchyard after another bricklayer had failed to perform his contract.⁹⁰ In 1771 he was subcontractor under Benjamin Powell for the brickwork of the Publick Hospital, as we learn from his advertisement for bricklayers in the *Virginia Gazette* in October that year.⁹¹ Another advertisement inserted by him in July 1773, for bricklayers or plasterers,⁹² may or may not have been occasioned by the same undertaking. In October 1779 Dixon and Nicolson's *Virginia Gazette* contained an announcement to the effect that he was going out of business for reasons of ill health:

This is to acquaint those Gentlemen that have any demands against me, to apply to Mr. William Goodson at his store, who has money lodged in his hands to satisfy any demands against me, and be glad they would immediately apply as I do not expect to pay any interest from the date hereof, as my infirmity has induced me to decline carrying on business any longer. I should be glad to have my concerns settled as soon as possible.

SAMUEL SPURR

I have about 15,000 or 20,000 bricks, which I will barter for corn.⁹³

(27)		M ^r William Hornsby		D	
1770	March 10	To mortar ⁿ and mending Plastering 14/-		£	1. 5.-
		To 300 bricks a 15/- p 6. 15 bush ^l of lime a 14/6, & 2 days labour a 12/-		10.	11. 6
		To bonding after place to the forge chimney at 2. Repairs 20/-		4.	0. -
April	3	To 600 Bricks a 15/- 35 bushels of lime a 14/6, & 3000 Laths a 14/- (at 1000)		10.	6. 6
		To bonding ahead of Land 12/- & Repairing plaster in great room 7/-		3.	12. -
		To laying Kitching hearth 22/6 & Repair Lathing & Plastering 12/-		4.	8. 6
		To fullering floor 22/6. & Lathing & Plastering 12/-		3.	2. 6
	10	To Altering fire place in Chamber 12/- & Repairing Celler wall 12/-		5.	8. -
		To Whitewashing Laundry 30/- & 3 Days labour a 12/- & 1 bush of hair		6.	18
	14	To 200 Bricks a 16/6 & 35 bushels of lime a 14/6, & 1000 Laths 6/-		12.	10. 6
		To Repairing Celler steps 22/6 & 1 bushel of hair 12/- & 3 days lab ^r a 12/-		3.	10. 6
		To Lathing & Plastering 10/- Retaining (at Repairs) to 2 Sheds 12/-		9.	12. -
May	8	To 400 Bricks a 15/- & 4 bush ^l of lime a 14/6, & 1000 Laths 12/-		8.	19. -
		To 2 days labour a 15/- to working up wall in Celler 30/-		3.	6
		To putting up brace in Kitching chimney 24/-		1.	4. -
		To Whitewashing Kitching & Room adjoining a 30/-		3.	0. -
	18	To 18 bush ^l of lime a 14/6, & 1/2 bush of hair 6/- & 1/2 days labour a 12/-		6.	16. 6
		To Repairing Lathing & Plastering in the room below at Repairs 6/-		3.	0. -
	29	To 5 bushels of lime a 14/6, To putting in 3 window frames in Celler wall 3/-		3.	4. -
		To 1 Days Labour 15/- to Hair Bonding plaster up stairs 12/-		1.	13. -
	31	To Whitewashing 2 Rooms & 2 passages a 30/-		6.	0. -
Decem ^r	31	To 2000 Bricks £55.0.0. & 25 bushels of lime a 14/6		77.	0. -
1780		To Building chimney to shed £25.0.0. & 10 Days lab ^r a 12/-		39.	0. 0
June	17	To Cash To Balance		217.	7. 0
				£	450 13 6

1780		M ^r William Hornsby		D	
June	17	To 3 bush ^l of lime a 14/6. 110 bricks a 15/- & 1/2 bush of hair 6/-		10.	6
		To mending & plastering 16/- & Repairing chimney at Repairs 20/-		1.	8. 6
		To Whitewashing 2 Rooms 30/-		3.	0. -
Novem ^r	11	To 4 bushels of mortar 18/- mending plastering 30/-		4.	6
		To Whitewashing 2 Rooms & 2 passages a 30/-		6.	0. -
Janu ^y	13	To 300 old black bands a 4/-		1.	2. 6
June	14	To 1 bushel of whitewash 2/- & whitewashing 2 Rooms & 2 passages at 4/6		1.	3. -
				9	15. 6

Figure 1. A PAGE FROM THE ACCOUNT BOOK OF THE
WILLIAMSBURG BRICKLAYER HUMPHREY HARWOOD.

After Spurr's retirement the "cheif workman in the City of Williamsburg" in the bricklaying line was Humphrey Harwood. He had made his first appearance in the columns of the *Virginia Gazette* just ten years before, in 1769, when he offered 40s. for an indentured servant, Arthur Kating, a bricklayer, who had run away.⁹⁴ Three months before that, Harwood had taken the fifteen-year-old Richard Hobday as an apprentice "to learn his Art, Trade and Mystery," and also to be taught to read and write.⁹⁵ Young Hobday was to serve until he was twenty-one. But he evidently decided that he could not stay the course, for two or three weeks before the second anniversary of his entry into Harwood's service he too ran away. That was in September 1771, and Harwood put his price at 20s.⁹⁶ In the previous June, Harwood had used the *Gazette* to announce that journeymen bricklayers would meet with good encouragement by applying to him.⁹⁷ In 1774 he became a co-member with Benjamin Powell of the Williamsburg committee for the enforcement of the Continental Association,⁹⁸ and like Powell he purchased a plantation during the Revolutionary period. This lay in James City County east of Williamsburg, on the north side of the old road to Yorktown;⁹⁹ Harwood's town house was on the north side of Duke of Gloucester Street.¹⁰⁰ In 1782 his "family" consisted of seven whites and seven blacks.¹⁰¹ He died in 1789, leaving his plantation to his son William, who succeeded him in the bricklaying business,¹⁰² and his Williamsburg property to his other son, Humphrey.¹⁰³ At his death he owned fourteen Negroes (nine men and five women) and his livestock included forty-six head of cattle and two beeves.¹⁰⁴ His most valuable bequest to posterity was unintentional, taking the form

of an account book for the years 1776-1794, which was discovered in 1930 by Mr. Singleton Moorehead in the attic of a modern outbuilding behind the George Reid House.¹⁰⁵ It shows Harwood working at the College, the Courthouse of 1770, the Capitol-turned-grammar-school, and for many private residents. And although one cannot help regretting that most of the period covered falls after the removal of the seat of government to Richmond, when there was little new building in Williamsburg, it is a precious document. A specimen page is reproduced here (*Fig. 1*) and some further entries are transcribed in the Appendix.

PLANS AND PROCEDURES

Besides the carpenters and joiners and the bricklayers there were the members of what in any general view must be regarded as the secondary trades: the painters and plasterers and paper hangers and plumbers—and men like James Wilson, "Carver, from London," who announced in the *Virginia Gazette* on June 20, 1755 that he

MAKES all Kinds of Ornaments in Stuco, human Figures and Flowers, &c &c Stuco Cornishes in Plaster, carved or plain, after the best Manner: likewise Stone finishing on Walls; he likewise carves in Wood, cuts Seals in Gold or Silver; and is to be spoken with at Mr. *Anthony Hay's*, Cabinetmaker, in Williamsburg.¹⁰⁶

But only the carpenters and joiners and the bricklayers (in the absence of stone and therefore of masons) have any claim to the term master builder in its proper sense.

These were the men who, often (doubtless) in close collaboration with the building

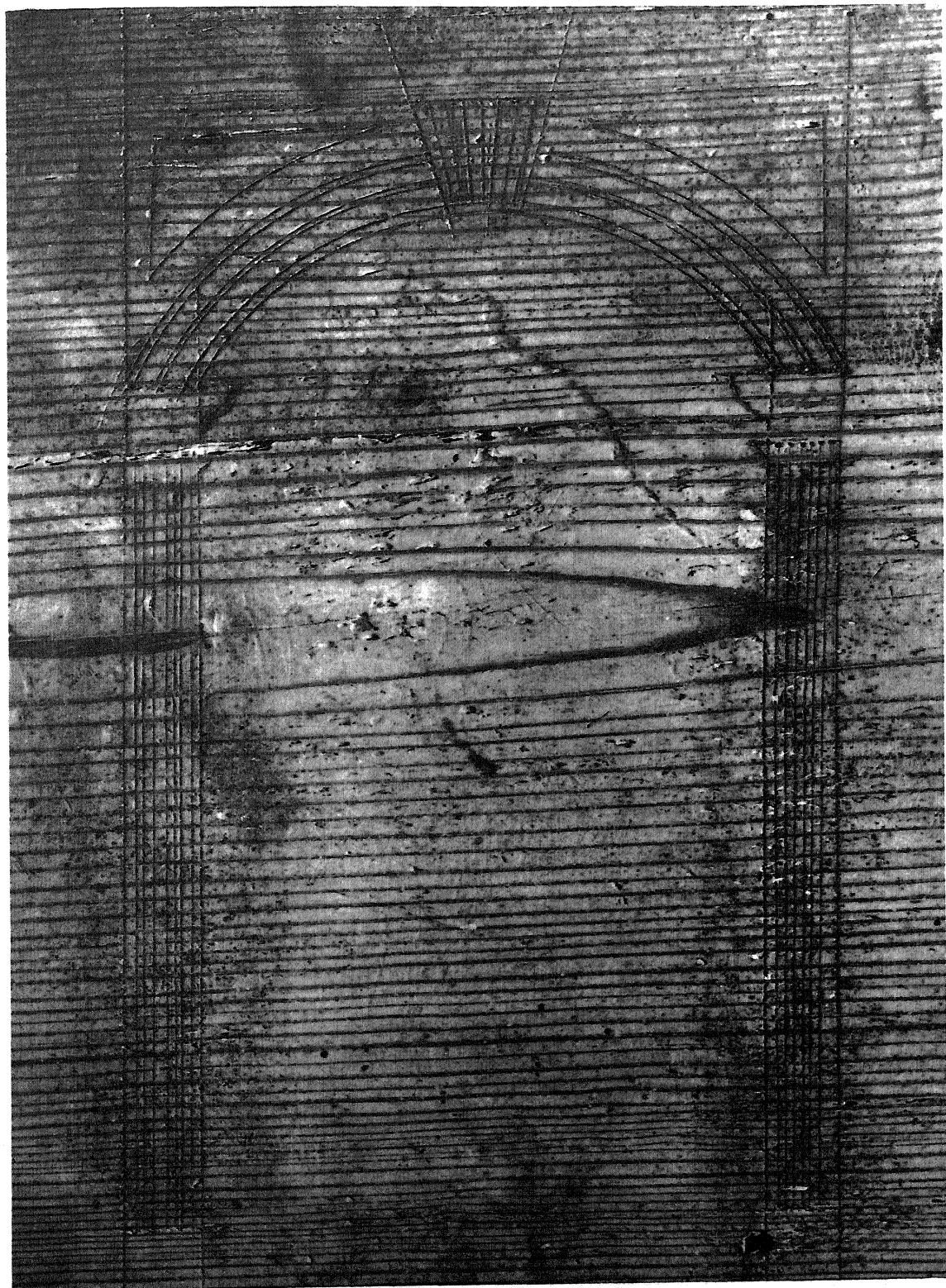


Figure 2. DESIGN FOR AN ARCH INCISED ON A BOARD,
FROM BELLE FARM, GLOUCESTER COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

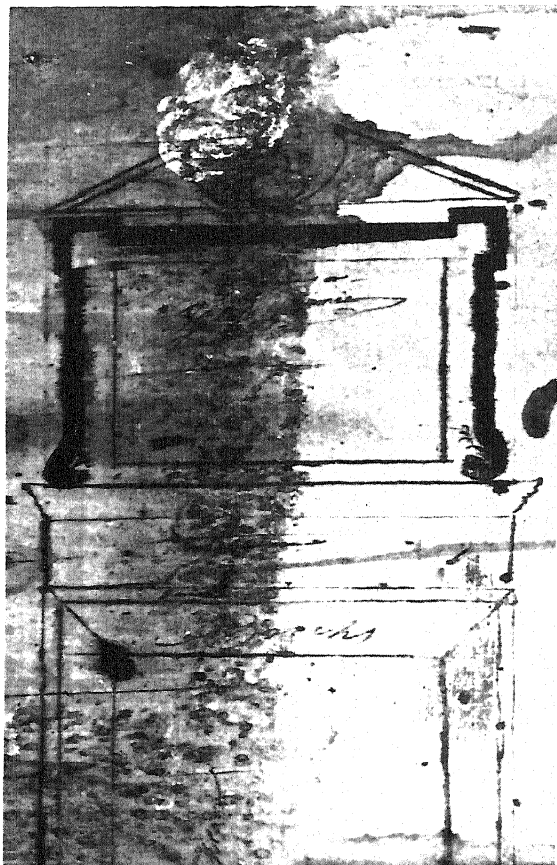


Figure 3. MANTEL DESIGN ON A BOARD,
FROM BELLE FARM, GLOUCESTER COUNTY, VIRGINIA.


owner, designed as well as built most of the houses of eighteenth-century Williamsburg. No plan from which a Williamsburg house was built has come down to us. Most of the few colonial plans that have survived else-

where are of a diagrammatic nature,¹⁰⁷ and we may assume that those to which the Williamsburg master builders worked were no exception to the rule. On the other hand, working drawings for the individual craftsman to follow might be detailed and precise—as the designs for an archway and a mantel found on boards incorporated in Belle Farm, Gloucester County, well demonstrate (*Figs. 2, 3*). (Both features were executed substantially as designed.)

A house, like a public building, might be built under a general contract, but only in exceptional circumstances were tenders invited through the medium of the public press.¹⁰⁸ We are as short of building contracts relating to Williamsburg houses as we are of plans for them. In the case of a general contract, if the “undertaker” was a carpenter, he would sublet the brickwork, and if he was a bricklayer he would sublet the carpentry. In other cases the building owner, instead of agreeing with a single master builder for the whole work at a fixed price, might choose to contract with members of each of the necessary trades separately. This was Carter Burwell’s procedure at Carter’s Grove in the 1750’s, and St. George Tucker’s in building his house on Nicholson Street forty years later. In domestic building such a procedure may well have been more common than the general contract. But without much more evidence than we yet have we cannot be sure.

CHAPTER III

The Craftsmen's Tools and Books

HE TOOLS USED in building have changed little over the centuries, and the building craftsman of today would be able to recognize nearly all the tools used by his predecessors two hundred years ago. He would, however, call some of them by different names, for the terminology of a practical craft is never static. For this reason it is not always easy to be sure what tool is meant in the records of the period. It is to the records, manuscript and printed, that we owe most of our knowledge of the tools employed in eighteenth-century Williamsburg, with archaeology making a relatively small contribution. The records that tell us most are, in order of informativeness, the inventories of the personal estates of deceased craftsmen, orders for tools placed with English merchants, and advertisements in the *Virginia Gazette*. Very few tools were made in Virginia, as we learn from a letter of John Blair, written in 1768 when he was acting governor of the colony, to the Board of Trade in London:

Our pig-iron and some bar-iron is chiefly shipped to Britain. We do not make a saw, augur, gimlet, file or nails, nor

steel; and most tools in the country are imported from Britain.¹

WOODWORKERS' TOOLS

Our survey of tools may begin with one without which there could have been little building in Virginia—the woodsman's *felling ax*. To appreciate its importance one needs to remember that felling trees with the saw was a development of the late nineteenth century; in colonial times all trees were felled with the ax. The English felling ax of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a blade, or bit, much longer than it was broad; the handle, or helve, was straight. The American ax, with its much shorter, nearly square blade and heavy poll (as that part of the head on the opposite side of the helve to the bit is called) made its appearance in New England and the middle colonies before 1750, according to Mercer.² However, all the old felling axes that have been found at Williamsburg belong to, or approximate, the English type. This is not surprising in view of the general dependence of Virginia upon England for tools.³ An order from Mann Page of Rosewell to the merchant John Norton in London in 1770 for "4 Dozn. Felling Axes"⁴ gives an

idea of the numbers in which this essential tool must have been imported into the colony.

Coming to carpenters' tools proper, we have the *broad ax*. This was a heavy, short-handled tool, held with two hands and used to dress the vertical faces of timbers which had been rough-squared with the felling ax. In the older form of the broad ax the bit was ground to a basil, or beveled, like a chisel, from the right to the left, so that the surface to be dressed had to be against the carpenter's left side as he worked, right-handed. Mann Page ordered "6 Broad Axes" at the same time as the forty-eight felling axes.⁵ Half a century earlier the carpenter James Morris, contractor for the nave of Bruton Church, died possessed of "2 Old Broad Axes," which were valued at 5s.⁶

James Morris also had "2 narrow Axes," which with "1 old hammer 1 old Ads & 2 old Spades" were appraised at 4s. 6d., and in 1770 "two broad axes, one narrow ditto" were taken from a certain George Churn, who had evidently stolen them, together with other tools (some of which will be mentioned later) from Edward Stubblefield of Charles City County.⁷ What these *narrow axes* were is uncertain, for none of the standard reference books, old or new, give the term. In the Colonial Williamsburg collection there are, however, two axheads resembling those of the tools illustrated by Mercer as *mortising axes*,⁸ and it would seem likely enough that they are examples of the narrow ax of the Virginian records and that this was in fact a mortising ax.

Small cousins of these axes are the short-handled *hatchets*. The inventory of the Williamsburg carpenter, James Wray, who died in 1750, includes one hatchet valued at 2s.⁹ Like the axes, hatchets came in broad and

narrow varieties, as an order from Lord Dunmore to John Norton in 1773 for half-a-dozen of each indicates.¹⁰ A special kind of broad hatchet, of which old examples have been found at Williamsburg,¹¹ is the *shingling hatchet*, which has a hammer-like poll for driving nails in and a notch in the bit for pulling them out. The *lathing hatchet* shares both the latter features with the shingling hatchet, but is narrower in the bit and has a flat top to facilitate the nailing of laths just under the ceiling. Again examples have been found at Williamsburg¹² although (as in the case of the shingling hatchet too) it would appear not to be listed under its full name in any of the eighteenth-century records.

After the axes and hatchets comes the *adz*, which has already appeared, as "Ads," in the excerpt from the appraisal of James Morris's property. The best description of the *adz* and its uses, as of so many other tools, is to be found in that paragon of handbooks, Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*:

As the Ax hath its edge parallel to its Handle, so the *Adz* hath its edge athwart the Handle, and is ground to a Basil on its inside to its outer edge. . . . Its general Use is to take thin Chips off Timber or Boards, and to take off those Irregularities that the Ax by reason of its Form cannot well come at; and that a Plane (though rank set) will not make riddance enough with.¹³

An *adz* was among the tools found in George Churn's possession.¹⁴

Several of the many kinds of saw are mentioned in the records. Working from large to small, we have first the *pitsaw*, for sawing timber into boards, so called because the balk to be sawn is laid over a pit or trench

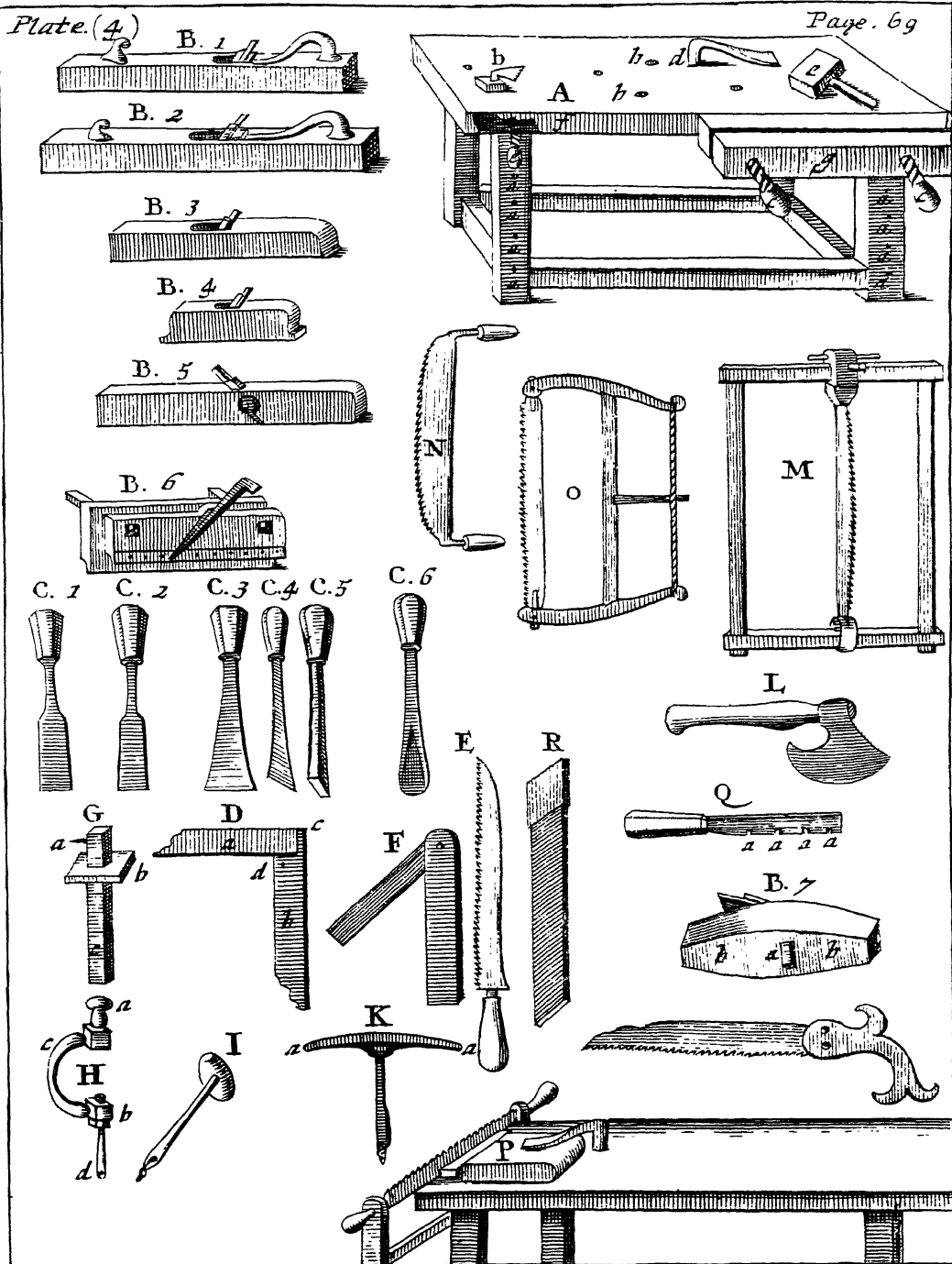


Figure 4. JOINERS' TOOLS OF ABOUT 1700, FROM MOXON'S *Mechanick Exercises*.

A: work bench (b, hook; d, hold-fast; e, mallet; g, bench vice). B1: fore plane. B2: jointer. B3: strike-block. B4: smoothing plane. B5: rabbet plane. B6: plow. B7: underside of plane, showing sole, b, and mouth, a. C1: former. C2: paring chisel. C3: former. C4: skew former.

C5: mortise chisel. C6: gouge. D: square. E: compass saw. F: bevel. G: gauge. H: piercer, or stock. I: gimlet. K: auger. L: hatchet. M: pit saw. N: whip saw. O: tennon saw. P: whetting block. Q: hand saw. R: mitre square.

in which one of the two sawyers stands. Moxon describes the pitsaw as "a great Saw fitted into a square frame" and gives an illustration (Fig. 4).¹⁵ A pitsaw was advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* for sale by Lawrence Howse in Sussex County in 1777;¹⁶ in 1773 Lord Dunmore ordered from John Norton "1 Frame Saw," which was doubtless a pitsaw, together with "3 Dozen files for do" (triangular files for sharpening the saw);¹⁷ "1 large framed saw" which had belonged to Edmund Dickinson was appraised on his death in 1778 at £5.¹⁸

Next we have "open," or unframed, two-handed saws, (saws, that is, with a handle at each end): the *whipsaw* and the *crosscut saw*. The former had the same function as the pitsaw. In 1718 James Morris left "an Old Steel Whip Saw," valued at £1;¹⁹ sixty years later Edmund Dickinson's whipsaw was appraised at £3.²⁰ The crosscut saw was not used for making boards but, as its name implies, for cross-cutting the trunks of ax-felled trees; it is distinguished from other saws in having its teeth shaped and sharpened to cut so that the work is divided equally between the two sawyers. When James Whaley died in 1701 he had "2 cross cut saws with wrest and file,"²¹ a *wrest* being an instrument for setting the teeth of a saw,²² and Lawrence Howse in 1777 offered a cross-cut saw for sale with the pitsaw and other tools.²³ The announcement that an "iron plate cross-cut saw" had been taken from the delinquent George Churn shows that steel had not altogether superseded hammer-hardened iron for saws even in 1770.²⁴

References to *handsaws* are numerous. The inventory of James Morris's personal property in 1718 includes "1 Old hand Saw" which was valued at one shilling.²⁵ When James Wray died in 1750 his handsaws were

included in "a parcel carpenters and joiners tools" and not itemized, but the inventory shows that he had forty-four handsaw files, which were valued at 1s. 9d. a dozen.²⁶ A distinct type of handsaw was the *tenon saw* or (as it was generally called in Virginia) *tenant saw*. In this the blade, or plate, is stiffened by a metal rib along the upper edge. The inventories of John Lewellin (1733),²⁷ James Wray (1750)²⁸ and Thomas Cobbs (1774)²⁹ mention tenant saws, while that of Edmund Dickinson (1778) lists a tenant saw and also "3 dove tailed . . . and 1 Sash saw"³⁰—which were varieties of the same tool.³¹ The Matthew Tuell inventory of 1775 lists "1 cross cut tenent saw,"³² suggesting a larger version of the tool.

Quite different in character and purpose from the tenon saw is the *compass saw*, "a very narrow saw, without a back . . . used to divide boards into pieces of curved outline."³³ In 1770 John Robinson ordered from John Norton "1½ doz Compass saws sized from largest to keyhole saw."³⁴ At the same time he sent for a *panel saw*, stipulating that it should have a steel plate. A panel saw was among the tools owned by Edmund Dickinson at his death in 1778.³⁵ Dickinson also owned an example of that interesting and useful tool the *bow saw*, in which a thin blade, which can be turned upon its long axis to any angle desired, is strained between the lower ends of an H-shaped frame by means of a twisted cord between the upper ends.³⁶

Before we pass on to tools for smoothing and shaping, there is a splitting tool to notice—the *frow* (or *froe*). The frow had a narrow but heavy blade, about a foot long, with a wooden handle at right angles to it. The handle was held in the left hand while the workman, with a *frow club* held in his right

hand, drove the blade into the wood to be split, which was held upright in a *frow horse*.³⁷ The frow was used most for making shingles, to a lesser extent for splitting boards. It is seldom mentioned in the inventories; indeed, the only references known to me occur in the James Morris inventory of 1718,³⁸ where both spellings are found:

"To 1 frow — „ 1 „ 3

 To 1 froe — „ 1 „ 3."

There are two frows in the Courthouse Museum at Williamsburg.

The plane family is a very large one. The cabinetmaker Edmund Dickinson owned "81 Planes of different sorts."³⁹ The first plane to be used for dressing wood after the ax or saw was the *jack plane* or *fore plane*; Moxon says that the former was the carpenter's, and the latter the joiner's name for the same tool.⁴⁰ This plane was from sixteen to eighteen inches long, with the iron or cutting bit ground to a convex curve for taking off coarse shavings. For Virginian references to the tool one may cite the John Lewellin inventory of 1733, which itemizes, among the planes, "3 jacks;"⁴¹ the Wray inventory of 1750, with two fore planes valued at 1s. 7d. each;⁴² and the inclusion of two fore planes in John Robinson's order to John Norton in 1770.⁴³

Next comes the *long plane* or *jointer*. Moxon's statement that these are alternative names for one tool, used by the carpenter and the joiner respectively, was presumably correct in Moxon's day, though the fact that Robinson sent to England for "One Jointer, one long Plane"⁴⁴ suggests that a distinction came to be made. Moxon describes the tool and its function as follows:

"The *Joynter* is made somewhat longer than the *Fore-plane*, and hath its *Sole* perfectly straight from end to end. Its Office is to follow the *Fore-plane*, and to *shoot* an edge perfectly straight, and not only an edge, but also a Board of any thickness; especially when a *Joynt* is to be *shot*."

"2 Joynters" belonging to James Morris were appraised at 4s. after his death in 1718;⁴⁵ in 1755 "long Planes" were advertized for sale by Christopher Ford, Jr., and Anthony Hay in the *Virginia Gazette*.⁴⁶

Much shorter than the foregoing—in fact only six or seven inches long—was the *smoothing plane*, used to put the finishing touches to joints. In 1733 John Lewellin died possessed of two smoothing planes,⁴⁷ and in 1750 James Wray had three, which were valued at 1s. 6d. each.⁴⁸

The jack plane, long plane, and smoothing plane had this in common: they were designed to produce a flat surface and could be moved freely in any direction across the wood. They belong to the class known as *bench planes*. The *fitting planes* differed from them in that they were designed to produce rabbets and grooves in the edges of boards to be joined together, and were equipped with a fence—that is, a downward projection of, or attachment to, the stock. Pressed against the side of the board, the fence guided the plane as it moved along the edge. Perhaps the most frequently used plane in this class was the *plow*, whose "office," writes Moxon, "is, to plow a narrow square *Groove* on the edge of a Board." Morris had two plows, valued at 2s. 6d.;⁴⁹ Robinson's order to Norton included "One best plated plow with set of Irons."⁵⁰

In the plow the fence is an integral part of the stock, and therefore immovable. But the

mysterious-sounding *moving fillister* had a separate fence which was attached by screws working in slots and so could be adjusted in order to vary the width of the cut made. "One moving philister" was among the tools taken from George Churn in 1770, and St. George Tucker paid Robert Greenhow 12s. for "1 movg phillester" in 1791.⁵¹

Distinct again from the fitting planes are the *molding planes*, described by Mercer as a "variety of decorative instruments, which in make, adjustment and blade contour, seem to have no end."⁵² They were of great importance to the colonial builder, who was dependent upon them for most of his decorative effects, both indoors and out. Christopher Ford and Anthony Hay advertised "Moulding Planes of all Sorts" in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1755.⁵³ One can be sure that these included the *sash plane*, a double plane which cut the molding and the glass-holding rabbet of window sash simultaneously. John Robinson's order to Norton for tools in 1770 includes this vital tool—"2 Sash planes"—together with other molding planes whose names are more or less self-explanatory: "One set of Cornish [i.e., cornice] planes for Carpenter & House Joiner," a set of "Surbase plains for chair boards," another set of surbase planes "for hand rails to stair cases," and a set of "Sash & door planes."⁵⁴ "One bead plane" was taken from Churn in 1770;⁵⁵ this was a plane in which both the iron and the sole of the stock were concave. Finally, mention should be made of the *tooth plane*, for scoring the surface of wood to be veneered in order to give a key for glue. Messrs. Ford and Hay had tooth planes for sale in 1755.⁵⁶

A shaping tool that is pulled towards the user, instead of being pushed away from him as is the plane, is the *draw knife* or *drawing*

knife. Consisting of a narrow blade basiled on its upper side with a wooden handle at right angles at either end, it was used for thinning the tops of shingles and for taking off shavings generally. It appears (always called drawing knife, never draw knife) in the inventories of John Dickeson (1676)⁵⁷ and Armistead Lightfoot (1772);⁵⁸ John Robinson ordered "2 best drawing knives" from Norton in 1770;⁵⁹ and there are three examples in the Courthouse Museum.

The *chisels* and *gouges*, the latter being chisels with concave blades, claim our attention next. In 1718 the carpenter James Morris had "19 Chisells & Gouges," appraised at 9s. 6d.;⁶⁰ the cabinetmaker Edmund Dickinson died in 1778 in possession of "47 Carving Chissels & Gouges" worth £4 14s. od.;⁶¹ in 1770 John Robinson sent to England for "2 doz Chissels sorted from framing to small tinners."⁶² The framing chisel *par excellence*, used with a mallet for forming large mortises, was the *firmer* or *former*; the tool was advertised for sale, under the second name, by Messrs. Ford and Hay in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1755.⁶³ For smaller mortises, such as those in windows and doors, the *mortise chisel* was employed; Edmund Dickinson's "6 Morticeing Chissels" were appraised at £1 os. od.⁶⁴ The *paring chisel*, a sharper version of the firmer used without a mallet, does not appear in the records examined—unless the "3 trimers [trimmers?] chiswells" in the inventory of Thomas Barbar,⁶⁵ who died in 1727, are to be identified as examples of this tool.

The most important of the tools for boring was the T-shaped *auger*. When he died Morris had five augers, valued at 12s. od.⁶⁶ The blade, or *bit*, of the auger varied in form but always derived from a section of hollow cylinder, straight or twisted, until the invention

of the *spiral auger* late in the eighteenth century. The three augers in the Courthouse Museum include one of the spiral kind, of uncertain date.

A tool for boring which followed much the same development as the auger, of which indeed it is a miniature, one-handed version, is the *gimlet*. At his death in 1750 James Wray owned no fewer than 116 "gimblets," worth 3*d.* each.⁶⁷ In 1770 Mann Page ordered from John Norton "1 Dozn. Gimblets sorted,"⁶⁸ and John Robinson "3 doz best box handle double bit Gimblets."⁶⁹ Another boring tool sent for by Robinson in the same order was the *stock*—"One stock & set of bits to fit it"—while Edmund Dickinson had "1 stock and 20 Bitts" valued at £3 *os. od.*⁷⁰ This is the tool with the U-shaped handle which is turned with the right hand while pressure is applied by the left hand or the shoulder to a button at the top; today it is usually called the *brace*.

A tool less familiar today, used after the actual boring had been done with the auger, was the *hook pin*. This was an iron pin, six inches or more in length with a hooked or "figure 4" top, of which Moxon gives the following account:

"Its Office is to pin the Frame of a Floor, or Frame of a Roof together, whilst it is framing, or whilst it is fitting into its Position. They [i.e., carpenters] have many of these Hook-Pins to drive into the several Angles of the Frame. These drive into the Pin-holes through the Mortesses and Tennants, and being made Taper, do with a Hammer striking on the bottom of it knock it out again; or they most commonly strike under the Hook, and so knock it out. Then if the

Frame lie in its place, they pin it up with wooden Pins."

The inventory of James Wray's property (1750) lists "6 carpenters hookpins"—evidently large ones of the best quality, for they were appraised at 2*s. od.* each.⁷¹

The *hammer* is a tool that has changed in no essential respect, and hardly in detail, since Roman times. Two hammers among James Morris's tools in 1718 were appraised at 3*s. 6d.*⁷² Whether these were *claw hammers*, with heads adapted to drawing nails, does not appear, though the claw hammer was probably the normal form of the tool as used by carpenters in the eighteenth century. The James Wray inventory of 1750 lists three "clew hammers," value 1*s. 3d.* each;⁷³ the spelling is of interest because in the earliest mention of the tool by an English name quoted by Salzman, dating from 1473, it is called "*clouehamer*."⁷⁴ In 1771 James Carter ordered "6 large claw Hammers" from John Norton.⁷⁵

The center of every carpenter's and joiner's operations was his *bench*. James Morris had two benches, worth 10*s. od.*,⁷⁶ which was the value set upon Thomas Cobbs's single work bench in 1774.⁷⁷ The most important attachment to the bench, for holding wood to be dressed, was the *vice*, distinguished from the various kinds of *clamps* employed for holding pieces of wood to be fastened together as the *bench vice*. John Greenhow in 1766 advertised "Pin vices, hand and bench vices."⁷⁸ It seems reasonable to suppose that the *pin vice*, not to be found under this name in the standard reference books, was a clamp for holding pieces of wood to be pinned together—and that *glue jointers*, as advertised by Christopher Ford and Anthony Hay in 1755,⁷⁹ were for holding those that had been glued until the

glue set. An alternative name for the clamp was *cramp*, and Edmund Dickinson's tools included "1 large cramp" and "1 small *Do*," appraised at two pounds and one pound respectively.⁸⁰ (His bench vice was appraised at £1 10s. od.) The workshop might also contain a lathe, used by the house carpenter chiefly for turning banisters. Thomas Cobbs had one,⁸¹ and in 1777 a *Virginia Gazette* advertisement announced the coming sale of "a Set Turners Tools, and the Bench with 2 Screws and Points, and a moving Steel Rest."⁸²

Finally there are the tools and instruments for measuring and drawing. The ten-foot *measuring rod*, which carpenters evidently made for themselves more often than not, does not occur in any of the inventories examined by me, but was doubtless used in Williamsburg.⁸³ For smaller dimensions the two-foot *rule* was standard; the Wray inventory (1750) lists seven, value 7½*d.* each.⁸⁴ Of *pencils* Wray had seven also (3½*d.* each); James Morris had "3 pencils & Ruler & brass Compasses," value 4s. od.⁸⁵ Wray had eleven *compasses*, which were appraised at 4*d.* each. The *square* was another essential instrument, and in view of what Mercer says about the preponderance of wooden squares before 1800 it is interesting to note that in 1718 Morris had "a Small iron Square" and that John Lewellin had "1 iron Square," value 1s., in 1733.⁸⁶ Morris also had a *chalk line*, appraised at 1s. 3*d.* This was a chalked string which was stretched tight against a long plank or board and then twanged, so as to leave a mark for the saw to follow. Wray had "5 brass chaulk roles," which one may take to have been reels for holding chalk lines. The *level*, for ascertaining whether work is true, would seem not to figure in the inventories;

but examples of it, or at least of its more lasting parts, the bob and guard, have been found at Williamsburg. For drawing direct upon the wood the *scratch awl* or *scriber* was employed. In 1755 Messrs. Ford and Hay advertised "Scribing Gouges,"⁸⁷ which may have been the same thing or were perhaps *gauges*, adjustable cruciform instruments for scratching lines parallel to the edge of a plank or board.⁸⁸ There were "Gages," as well as "Bevels" (jointed instruments for drawing angles), among the tools of the cabinetmaker, Edmund Dickinson, in 1778.⁸⁹ These were all things that might have been found in any carpenter's shop. The "1 case drawing Instruments" left by Dickinson (and valued at £2 0s. od.) corresponded rather to the drafting room equipment of our own day.

TOOLS OF THE OTHER CRAFTS

Compared with the carpenter's, the bricklayer's tools were few. The *trowel* for spreading mortar was an essential one; the important Williamsburg bricklayer Humphrey Harwood died, in 1788, possessed of "8 trowells."⁹⁰ He also had "8 [?] Chisels for brick work," which doubtless included the double-bladed variety called the *brick ax*. Bricks for quoins and the cut bricks for door and window arches were smoothed with a *rub stone*, which Moxon says was "round, and . . . about fourteen Inches Diameter, and sometimes more or less at pleasure."⁹¹ James Morris in 1718 had "1 Rubb Stone," appraised at 1s. The bricklayer would also have had a leveling device, string lines, brushes, a tool for lining mortar joints, buckets, hods, and shovels.

Painter's and glazier's tools are often found listed together, since the two crafts were often—probably more often than not—combined

in practice. The appraisement of the estate of Robert Orchard, who died in 1756,⁹² provides us with a useful list of painter's tools:

- 1 Pallet Knife 2/-
- 1 large Do 2/6 0 . 4 . 6
- 2 Paint Brushes 4/6
- 5 finer Do 2/6
- 5 broad Do 6/3 0 . 13 . 3
- 29 old Paint Brushes 5/- . .
- 1 Painters stone, 1 Do larger
- 1 Do larger 1 Do larger 60/- 5 . 10 . -
- 1 Stone Mill
- 1 Wooden Mill 5/- . . .

The *mills* and *stones* were for grinding the colors, which were less often bought ready-mixed than they are today. Colors were ground on the stone with a *muller*, a conical stone having a flat base and designed to be held in the hand; when James Wray died in 1750 he had "1 paint stone and muller."⁹³ Finer powder could be produced on the stone than in the mill. Wray also had "1 oyl jar" and "1 white lead mill."

Both Orchard and Wray possessed glazier's tools as well as painter's (and in Wray's case the tools of a carpenter, that being his principal trade). The *glazier's diamond* belonging to Orchard was appraised at 26s. The glazier's tools owned by Wray included some for lead-work—namely, *glazier's vices* (of which he had two) and *lead molds*. Although sash windows had been used in Williamsburg from the founding of the town, there still remained older houses with leaded casements in the neighborhood. In October 1733 Wray himself put in seventy-one diamond panes at "Mr. Wetherburns" and in the following August a further twenty.⁹⁴ The use of the mold and vice is described succinctly and with a touch of humor by Thomas Willsford:

To fix the glass in panes, the Glasier hath a mould to cast the lead in, a foot in length, which he draws through a Vice, as some men in their words through the nose, extending them wonderfully 4 times as long, and more.⁹⁵

As the lead caumes, comes, or canes passed through the vice they were given grooves to receive the glass on either side by the two opposed wheels in the machine. Other glazier's tools belonging to Wray were "pinchers" or *pincers* and a *glazier's hammer*, this being a light tool with a long slender head and a long claw for drawing nails, sometimes called a *brad-ding-hammer*.⁹⁶

BOOKS

In August 1777 a master craftsman of the name of Evington, Evenyton, or Eventon⁹⁷ inserted an announcement of the availability of his services in each of the two rival editions of the *Virginia Gazette*. The longer of the two advertisements goes as follows:

Wants employment, and is now at Leisure, a Master Workman in the various Branches of the Cabinet Business, chinese, gotick, carving, and turning; is well acquainted with the Theory and Practice in any of the grand Branches of the five ancient Orders; viz. Ornamental Architects, gothick, chinese, and modern Taste, &c. also Colonades, Porticoes, Frontispieces, &c. to Doors; compound, pick Pediment, and plain Tabernacle Chimney Pieces; chinese, ramp, and twist Pedestals; geometrical, circular, plain, and common Stair Cases, and sundry other Pieces of Architect too tedious mentioning. My chief Desire is to act the Capacity of Superintendent, or Super-

visor, over any reasonable Number of Hands, either in public or private Buildings. I have an elegant Assortment of Tools and Books of Architect, which I imported from *London* and *Liverpool*.⁹⁸

Not only is the mere mention in such a context of "Books of Architect"—the other advertisement says simply that he "has an excellent assortment of tools and books for his business"⁹⁹—indicative of the importance that books had assumed for the master craftsman of the time, but the phraseology of the whole announcement is reminiscent of, and might well have been inspired by, the title pages of those very books.

A later advertisement, inserted when Evington's books were up for sale, tells us that there were "12 or 15" of them, "by the latest and best authors in Britain, viz. *Swan, Pain, Langley, Halfpenny, &c. &c.*"¹⁰⁰ These are all authors whom one would have expected such a man to have owned, and one could supply some of the titles with at least a fair chance of being correct. But what were the books mentioned in the following entry in the inventory of the personal estate of the carpenter, Richard King,¹⁰¹ which was made all of fifty years before?

1 umbrella 5/—, 1 case razors 1/6, 2 books of Architecture & 1 D^o Surveying 16s. 6d.

One would like to know, because this, it seems, is the earliest contemporary record of architectural books in Williamsburg—though we may be sure that Governor Spotswood possessed some.¹⁰² Because it is the earliest, there is little to go by in making a guess.

Books on architecture that were available in the eighteenth century are divisible into

four classes: the academic treatise, dealing principally with the classical orders and the "grammar" of classical architecture in general; the work of descriptive archaeology, illustrating ancient buildings; the builder's handbook, in which the main emphasis is on technical and practical matters; and the book of designs, containing plans and elevations, executed or unexecuted, of whole buildings, or patterns for individual features such as ceiling or staircases. There was, however, much overlapping—as witness two of the three volumes listed in the first advertisement of architectural books to appear in the *Virginia Gazette*. The year was 1751—nearly a quarter of a century after King's death—and the printer of the *Gazette* announced as "Just Imported, and to be Sold reasonably, at the Printing-Office in Williamsburg, on early Application" a long list of titles of all kinds, in which architecture was represented by "Ware's Palladio," "Salmon's Palladio," and "Harmonic Architecture."¹⁰³

The first of this trio, Ware's Palladio, is the English translation of the *Quattro Libri dell' Architettura* by the sixteenth-century Vicentine master whose word was almost law in England between 1725 and 1760, published in London by the architect Isaac Ware in 1738; this comprehensive work includes a book on the orders and certain matters of construction and proportion, a book of Palladio's own designs, and two books in which Roman buildings are illustrated and described.

"Salmon's Palladio" is not, as might be supposed, another edition of this revered work, but a builder's handbook containing some geometry, detailed instructions for drawing the inevitable orders, a few engraved designs for doorways and windows and chimney pieces, and a quantity of useful information

about practical business matters, such as measuring and pricing, and about practical structural ones, such as building staircases and framing roofs. Its author, William Salmon, was a Colchester carpenter, its real title *Palladio Londinensis: or, The London Art of Building*, and it went through six editions in the eighteenth century, three (1734, 1743, 1748) before our advertisement appeared and three more (1752, 1755, 1762) after.

The third book, "Harmonick Architecture," was not Robert Morris's *Lectures on Architecture Consisting of Rules founded upon Harmonick and Arithmetical Proportions in Building*, as I have hazarded elsewhere,¹⁰⁴ but undoubtedly must have been *Harmonic Architecture, exemplified in a Plan etc. of a Building, with four different fronts, upon an Harmonic Form of Cube, now made Octangular, Being designed for a Museum, in a retired situation of a Park or Garden*. The author of this very slim volume—it contains eight plates and two pages of text—which was published in 1741 by the "Society of Booksellers for promoting learning," was J. Shortess, Gentleman, to whom H. M. Colvin tentatively attributes a design, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, for an apiary.¹⁰⁵ It is difficult to explain its export to Virginia except as an instance of the dumping of stock that was hard to sell in England in the book-hungry colony.

Subsequent advertisements of books for sale by the printers of the *Virginia Gazette* do not add to our knowledge of architectural books in the colony as much as this promising beginning leads one to hope; books on gardening tend to outnumber those on architecture throughout the period in which both were advertised. In July 1771 we meet "Swan's Designs in Carpentry, containing Domes, trussed Roofs, Flooring, trussing of

Beams, Angle Brackets, and Cornices"¹⁰⁶—presumably Abraham Swan's *The Carpenter's Complete Instructor in Several Hundred Designs, consisting of Domes, Trussed Roofs, and various Cupolas*, of which there were editions of 1759 and 1768. This book was still to be had all but two years later, in June 1773.¹⁰⁷ Does this mean that it did not sell, or does it mean that Messrs. Purdie and Dixon had laid in several copies? Perhaps it was among the books owned by Evington—though if he told the truth when he said that he had imported his books from London and Liverpool he did not acquire his copy at Williamsburg. Or perhaps Evington owned one or more of Swan's other works, the *Designs for Chimnies*, the two volume *Collection of Designs in Architecture*, or *The British Architect*, the last of which, first published in England in 1745, had the distinction thirty years later of being the first book on architecture to be printed in America.¹⁰⁸

Books by William Pain that Evington could have owned were *The Builder's Companion* of 1758, *The Builder's Pocket Treasure* of 1763, and the *Practical Builder* of 1774. At least the first of these reached pre-Revolutionary Virginia, if Fiske Kimball was right in thinking that he found evidence of its use by William Buckland at Gunston Hall.¹⁰⁹ In the case of Batty Langley the range of possibility is much greater, for before his death in 1751 Langley had been responsible for a score or more of publications. One whose presence in Virginia can be established documentarily is *The Builder's Treasury of Designs for Piers, Gates, etc.*, recorded by Philip Vickers Fithian (as "Builders Treasury of Designs") as being in Robert Carter's library at Nomini Hall.¹¹⁰ (The only other architectural book listed by Fithian was Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis*.) William Halfpenny was as prolific an author

as Langley, his works appearing during the same period. The Byrd library at Westover, as we learn from the sale catalogue of 1777,¹¹¹ contained two of them, the folio volume, *The Art of Sound Building*, and the duodecimo *Practical Architecture*. Both appeared in the 1720's, and it is possible that William Byrd II acquired them in that decade, when he was preparing to build his new house. What the sale catalogue lists as "Richard's Palladio"—namely, *The First Book of Architecture . . . by A[ndrea] P[alladio] . . . Translated out of French by G[odfrey] R[ichards]*—may also have been acquired then; the last of the many editions of this book, first published in 1668, appeared in 1733.

It is worth note that the Byrd library did not contain Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis*, despite the fact that the designs of the north and south doorways of Westover come line for line from plates in that book;¹¹² but since the doorways are of Portland stone and must have been imported ready-made from England there was no need for Byrd to have owned a copy. Nor did it contain that other mainstay of the colonial designer, James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (1728), although one of the Westover mantelpieces seems to derive from it.¹¹³ (However, the mantelpiece, which is of marble, must also have been imported.) Although Thomas Jefferson's architectural library does not concern us here, it is worth note that in 1778 he bought a copy of Gibbs's work, together with William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727), in Williamsburg, paying to John Dixon, printer of the *Virginia Gazette*, £10 for each of them.¹¹⁴

Of "Palladio's Architecture" there were two copies at Westover, one quarto and one folio. Any certain identification of the editions in the case of an author so frequently re-

published is impossible, though since the title is given in English and there was apparently only one volume it seems more likely than not that the folio was Ware's again. The book entered in the sale catalogue as "Architecture di Scamozzi" can only have been *L'Idea della Architettura Universale* by Palladio's fellow townsman and follower, Vincenzo Scamozzi, perhaps—since it was a folio—a copy of the first edition of 1615. "Alberti's Architecture," since it was in two volumes, folio, may be identified with some confidence as Leoni's English edition of 1726.¹¹⁵ There were two French books among the architectural books at Westover, catalogued as "Principes L'Architecture" and "Traite d'Architecture." These must have been André Félibien's *Des Principes de l'Architecture, de la Sculpture, de la Peinture, et des autres Arts qui en Dependent*, first published in 1676, and Sebastien Le Clerc's *Traité d'Architecture* of 1714; neither could have been of much practical use to a building owner dependent upon workmen trained in the English tradition. The three volumes of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715–1725), also in the library, illustrated buildings that were nearly all too grand for imitation in Virginia.

Among the books that Robert Carter ordered from England in 1771–1773—either it went to his Williamsburg house or it arrived too late to be catalogued by Fithian—was "Chambers on Architecture."¹¹⁶ *A Treatise on Civil Architecture* by Sir William Chambers was first published in 1759; a second edition appeared in 1768. Representing contemporary academicism at its best, it long remained a standard textbook on the classical proprieties. Very different was the book listed in the inventory of the estate of the cabinet-maker Edmund Dickinson, in 1778, and ap-

praised at £6—"Chippendales Designs."¹¹⁷ This must have been *A Collection of Ornamental Designs, Applicable to Furniture, Frames, and the Decoration of Rooms* by Thomas Chippendale, which contains "Chinese," "Gothick," and *rocaille* motifs.

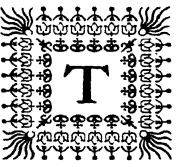
The taste that Chippendale's book represents was hardly the latest, for the first volume of the *Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, which did so much to consolidate the victory of neo-classicism over the rococo in England, had appeared in 1773. There would seem to be no record of the folios of the Adam brothers reaching Virginia in the period with which we are concerned, and nothing in the design of any surviving building to suggest that they did so. However, Williamsburg did have an opportunity to learn, even before the Revolution, of the change in taste. In 1774 George Hamilton, "Carver and Gilder, just from Britain, and now in this City," informed the public through the medium of the *Virginia Gazette* that he would execute "Ornaments and Decorations for Gentlemens Houses, Chimney Pieces, Door and Window Cornices, Mouldings and Enrichments," together with a variety of articles of a more portable nature, "after the new *Palmyrian* Taste."¹¹⁸ Was Mr. Hamilton, who with metropolitan sophistication offered to furnish gentlemen with "Designs," the proud possessor of a copy of Robert Wood's great folio, *The Ruins of Palmyra*? It is not impossible; but it seems more likely that he found his inspiration in a more modest work, namely *A Book of*

Ornaments in the Palmyrene Taste by N. Wallis, published in 1771.

Books influenced architecture in two ways: individually, by supplying designs, for whole buildings or for details, which could be taken straight from the printed page; and cumulatively, by establishing standards and trends of taste. Williamsburg can show no instance of the plan and elevations of a whole building being taken from a book as obvious and striking as that of Mount Airy in Richmond County, Virginia, for which Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* supplied so much more than inspiration. Nor can the design of any considerable extent of interior work in the town be traced to a literary source as certainly as can that of the woodwork in the hall and west parlor at Carter's Grove, James City County, which was executed after plates in *Palladio Londinensis* within two years of its owner's purchase of a copy of that work.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, one may be sure that but for books the design of moldings and other small but telling details in Williamsburg houses would be less correct, by classical criteria, than it generally is. And there are a number of features—the "Chinese" stair in the Coke-Garrett House, for instance, and the enrichment of the mantelpiece in the west room of the Semple House—which, even if they are not to be linked with individual engravings, quite clearly must owe their character to their designers' having had some acquaintance with books propagating the stylistic trends that they exemplify.

CHAPTER IV

The Houses of Williamsburg: General Design

HE BASIC ELEMENT of the English rural dwelling when the first colonists arrived in Virginia was, as it had been for hundreds of years, the hall—an oblong room entered near one end through one of its longer sides. The very simplest houses consisted of nothing more than this one room and a garret, reached by ladder, above; such no doubt were the first framed houses built at Jamestown. All the more complex types of house had come about as the result of the addition of rooms for special purposes to the originally all-purpose hall.¹ The nature and the arrangement of these additions varied with the needs and social status of the building owner. The manor house early acquired two extra rooms: the solar or parlor was added at the “upper” end of the hall (that is, at the end further from the entrance), and the kitchen was placed at the lower end, with its door giving into the passage formed by the wooden screen which here ran from one side of the hall to the other (the screens passage, as it was called). In the house of the yeoman, lower in the social and eco-

nomic scale, the cooking was still done in the hall, and the sole addition might be a parlor, in the position at the lower end of the hall occupied by the kitchen in the manor house.

It was from this kind of yeoman house that the characteristic story-and-a-half house of colonial Virginia, entered in the center of the front and having two rooms on the ground floor (*Figs. 5, 6*), was derived. Nothing shows this more clearly than the survival in eighteenth-century inventories of the old names for the three parts into which the ground floor was divided: hall, parlor, and passage. (The present custom of referring to the central passage of an eighteenth-century house as the hall is not in accord with eighteenth-century usage.) There was, however, one significant difference between the Virginian room nomenclature and that of the mother country. According to the “Builder’s Dictionary” appended to the 1748 edition of Salmon’s *Palladio Londinensis*, “Chambers, in a House or Building are the Rooms between the Ground Story and Garrets”—that is to say, the upstairs rooms. In agreement with this definition is the naming of the rooms in

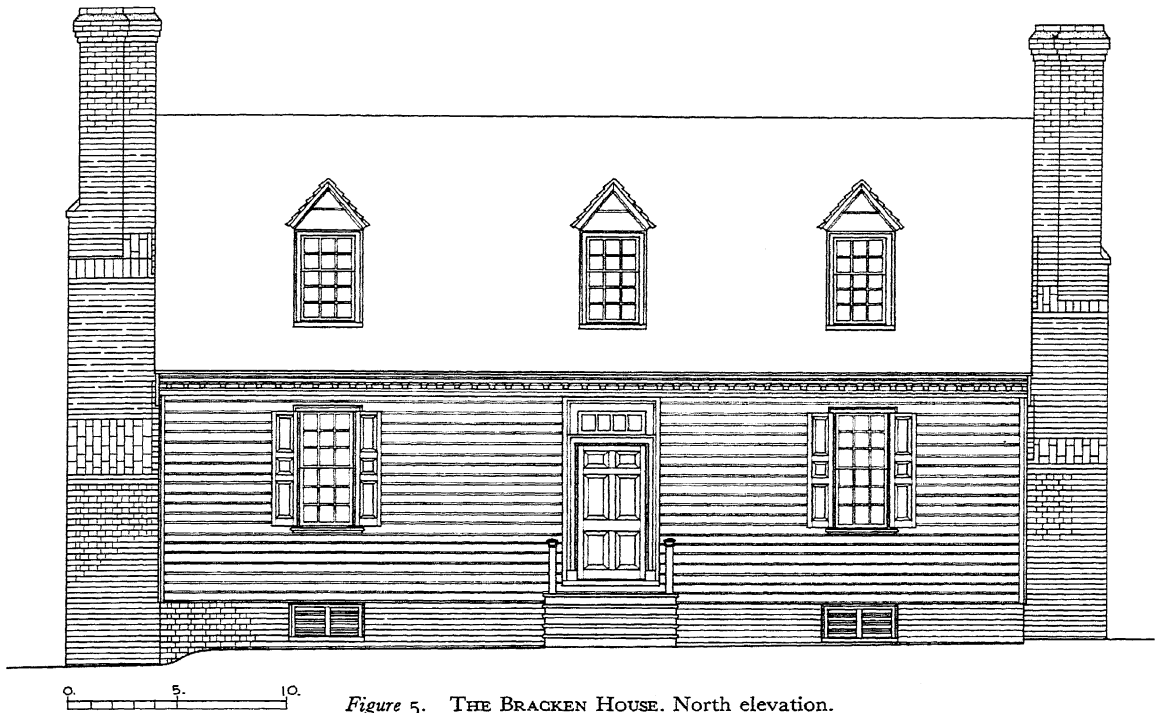


Figure 5. THE BRACKEN HOUSE. North elevation.

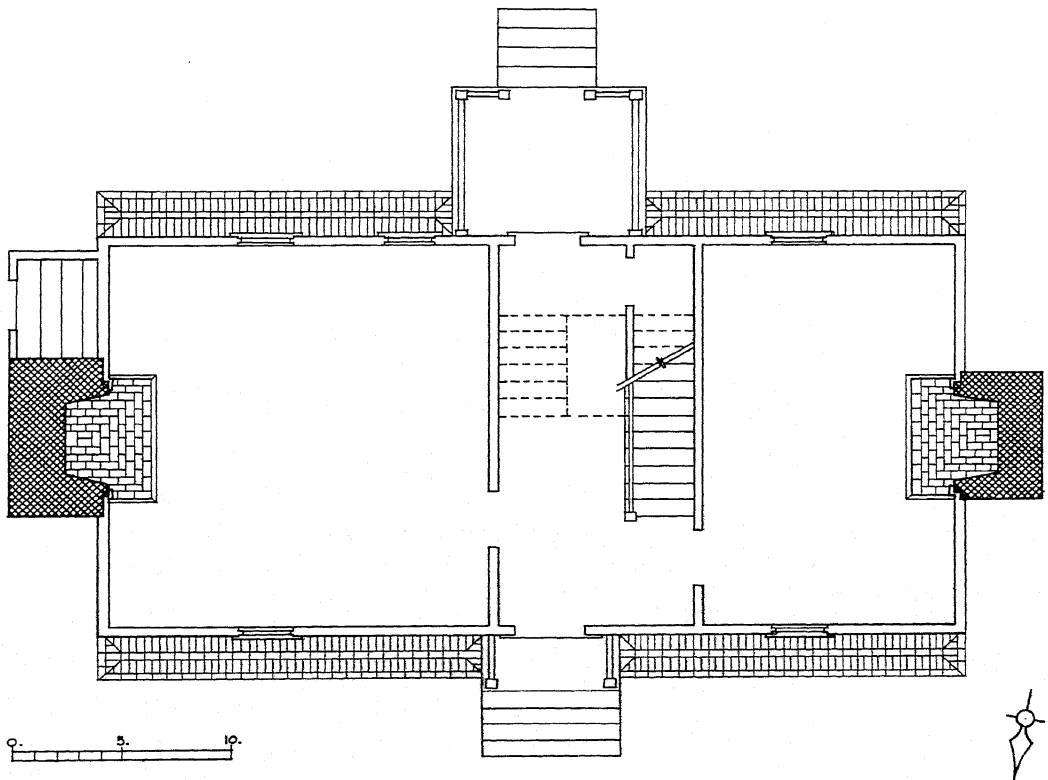


Figure 6. THE BRACKEN HOUSE. Plan.

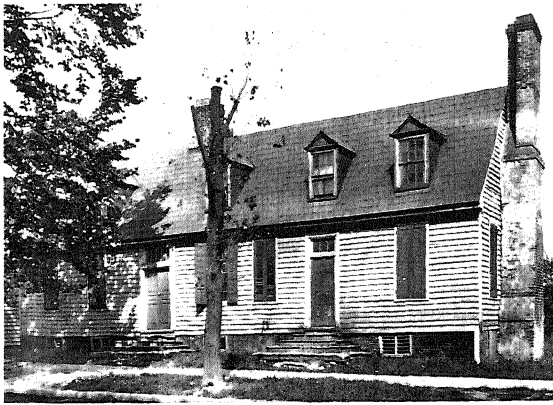


Figure 7. THE JOHN BLAIR HOUSE
BEFORE RESTORATION.

(for example) the Samuel Timson inventory of 1704/5:² hall, parlor, chamber over the parlor, porch chamber, hall chamber, garret over the hall, garret over the parlor. But one finds that there was often a room called a chamber on the first floor in the Virginian house, as in that of Matthew Pierce, whose rooms are named by the 1738 inventory as the chamber over the chamber, the chamber over the hall, the hall, the chamber below stairs.³ And in a story-and-a-half house the *only* chamber, so-called, might be on the first floor, as in Robert Davidson's house in 1739, described in the inventory as comprising a hall, a chamber, and "upstairs";⁴ and in Thomas Hornsby's in 1772, which had a chamber, hall, passage, and "upstairs."⁵ The explanation, borne out by the contents of the rooms as listed in the inventories, is that in Virginia a chamber was a bedchamber; and if Virginians continued to sleep on the first floor throughout the eighteenth century it must have been because it is practically impossible to install a four-poster upstairs under the roof of a story-and-a-half house, especially when, as more often than not is the case, there is a fireplace in the end wall. As for the parlor,

this was defined by *The Builder's Dictionary* as "a fair lower Room designed for the Entertainment of Company," and parlors, in Virginia as in England, were invariably on the lower floor.

A factor that made for the survival of the hall-passage-parlor type of story-and-a-half house in Virginia was the use of the outhouse kitchen. In the seventeenth century the larger houses sometimes had basement kitchens, and the feature was not unknown in Williamsburg.⁶ By the beginning of the eighteenth century the smaller planter and the tradesman had attained to a standard of living that made them unwilling to tolerate the fuss and smell of cooking in the hall. Their social equals in England would have added a kitchen to the house itself. But in Virginia the possession of slaves facilitated, perhaps even necessitated—for slaves were notoriously careless with fire—the adoption of an alternative which the summer heats alone would have made desirable. The removal of the kitchen into a separate building was a domestic ideal in eight-



Figure 8. A HOUSE AT TILLINGHAM, ESSEX, ENGLAND.

eenth-century England too. But there it was achieved only in great country houses; in Virginia it was a commonplace of middle-class living arrangements.

Nor was it only the kitchen that was removed from the house. Robert Beverley tells us: "All their Drudgeries of Cookery, Washing, Dairies, &c. are performed in Offices detach from the Dwelling-Houses, which by this means are kept more cool and Sweet."⁷ Moreover, the story-and-a-half house itself tended to be superior to its English equivalent. As early as 1656, John Hammond remarked that Virginian houses were "pleasant in their building, which although for the most part they are but one story besides the loft, and built of wood, yet contrived so delightfully that your ordinary houses in England are not so handsome, for usually the rooms are large, daubed and whitelimed, glazed and flowered [i.e., floored], and if not glazed windows, shutters which are made very pretty and convenient."⁸ From early in the period covered by this book we have the testimony of Hugh Jones that "the common planters live in pretty timber houses, neater than the farm houses are generally in England."⁹ The physical evidence supports the literary testimony. In Williamsburg most of the frame houses are of English village types, but have a generousness of scale and a sophistication of detail hardly to be found in their English counterparts (*Figs. 7-10*).

When the hall-passage-parlor nucleus proved too small (even after the building of the separate kitchen), there were three ways in which accommodation could be increased. The first was simply to build on to one end, as was done at Williamsburg in the John Blair House, for example. The second was to build a lean-to along the back of the house, with a



Figure 9. THE POWELL-HALLAM HOUSE
BEFORE RESTORATION.

roof which continued the slope of the main roof; the John Blair House again, and the Moody House, may be cited in illustration. The third was to build a wing or wings at right-angles to the long axis of the original house. With one wing this gave an L plan, such as that of the Benjamin Waller House. When two wings were added the result was the half-H, exemplified in the Brush-Everard House. The half-H had been a favorite plan in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. There

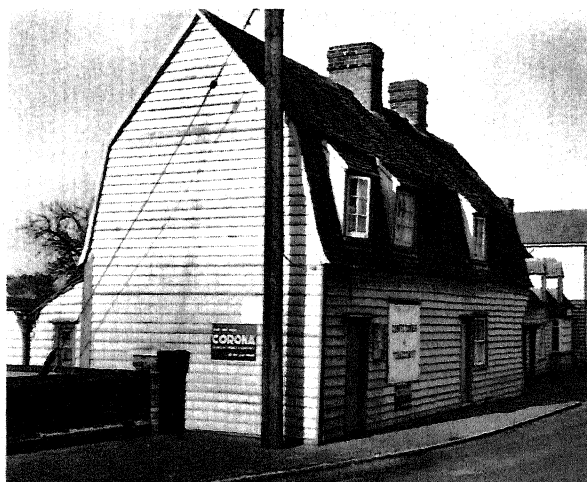


Figure 10. GAMBREL-ROOFED HOUSE AT TILLINGHAM,
ESSEX, ENGLAND.

the wings normally projected forward to form a forecourt; at the Brush-Everard House they are at the back. Here the fact that the building line was set by law merely confirmed an aesthetic predilection. Eighteenth-century taste had little use for the effects of projection and recession that had delighted the earlier age: it liked an unbroken front. The same factor accounts for the disappearance of the two-story porch, with its "porch chamber," which was evidently a common feature of Virginian houses in the seventeenth century.

All the house types discussed so far have one thing in common: the principal rooms extend from front to back. In England the house with partition walls along its longer axis making it two rooms deep was introduced early in the seventeenth century. In Virginia the first "double pile" (to use the old name) would seem to have been the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, begun in 1706; another early one was the first part of the Peyton Randolph House, built about 1715. These both differ somewhat from later ex-

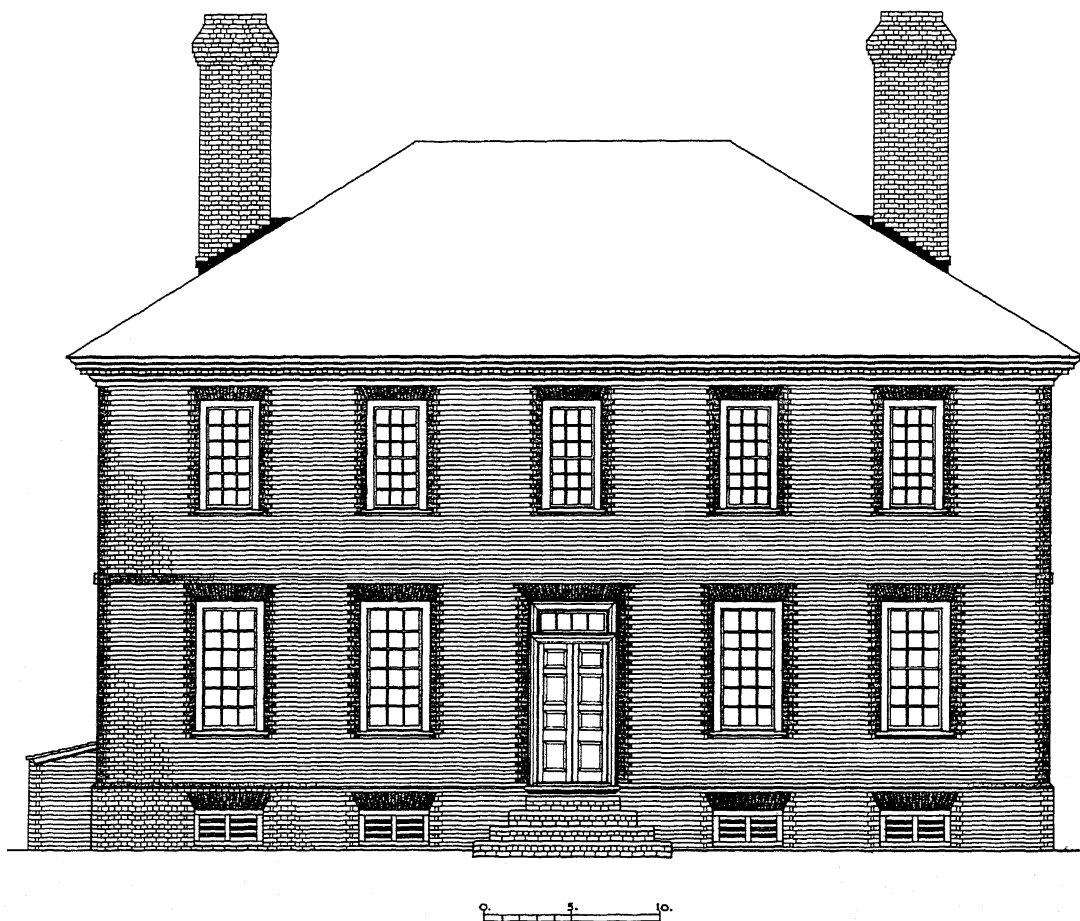


Figure 11. THE WYTHE HOUSE. East elevation.

amples in Virginia, the first in the placing of the stairs, the second in its possession of a massive central chimney, as well as a two-story porch. In the classic type of Virginian double-pile house the stairs retain their traditional position in the central passage, which is often considerably widened, and there are four rooms to a floor (*Figs. 11, 12*). The position of the chimneystacks varies: sometimes they are at the ends of the house, and sometimes they rise from the center of the partition between each pair of rooms. Their

placing does not depend, as might be supposed, upon the main structural material of the building. The Wythe House, which is of brick, has inside chimneys, but so does the Carter-Saunders House, which is of wood; the Archibald Blair House, which is of wood, has terminal chimneys, and so does the Ludwell-Paradise House, which is of brick. The all-purpose hall had no place in the double-pile house: on the ground floor were parlors and perhaps a dining room—a parlor in which one of the functions of all parlors had

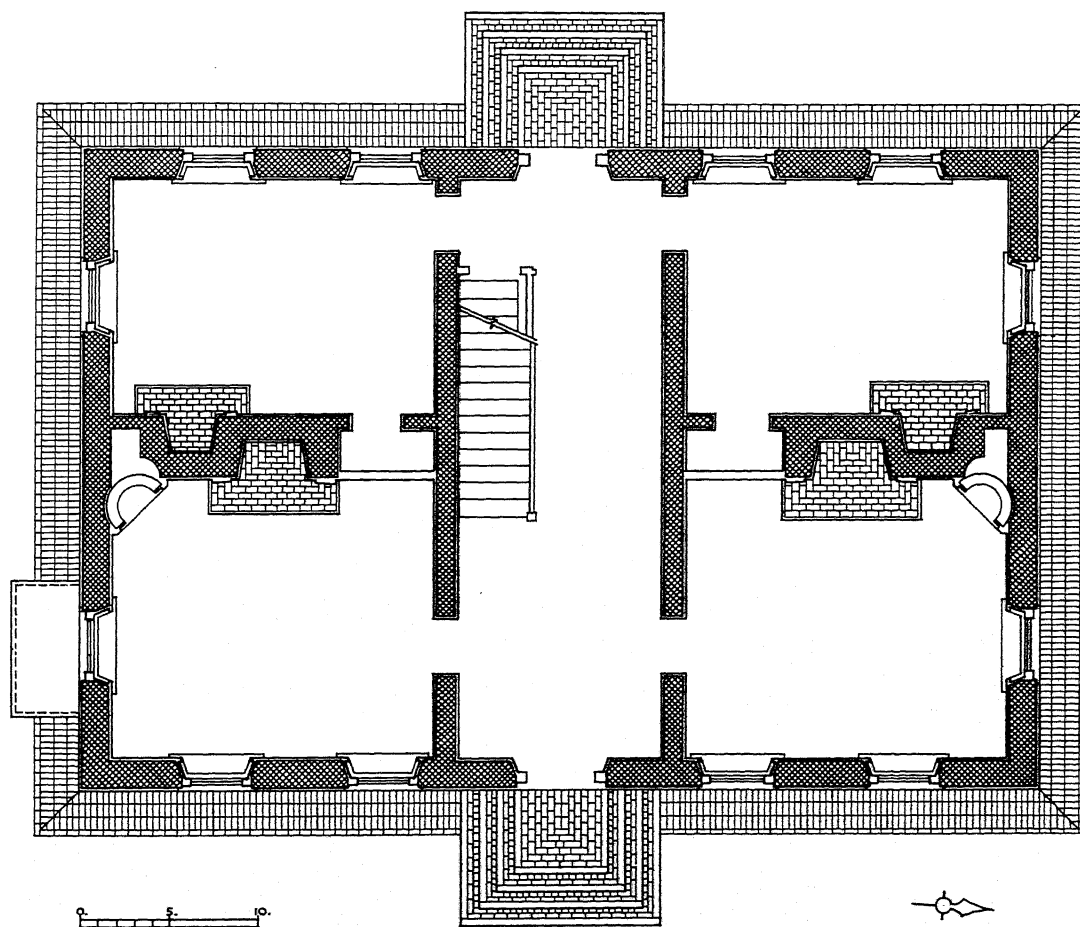


Figure 12. THE WYTHE HOUSE. Plan.

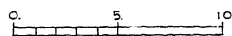
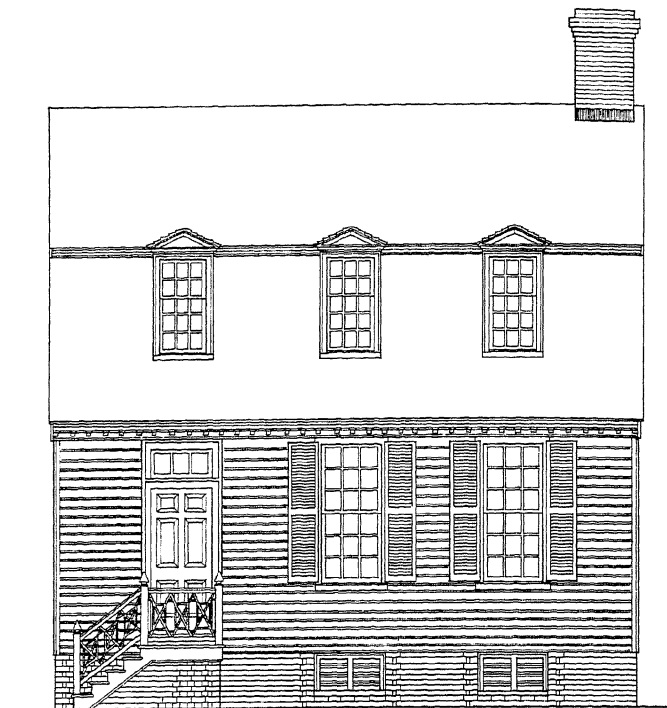


Figure 13. THE LIGHTFOOT HOUSE.
North elevation.

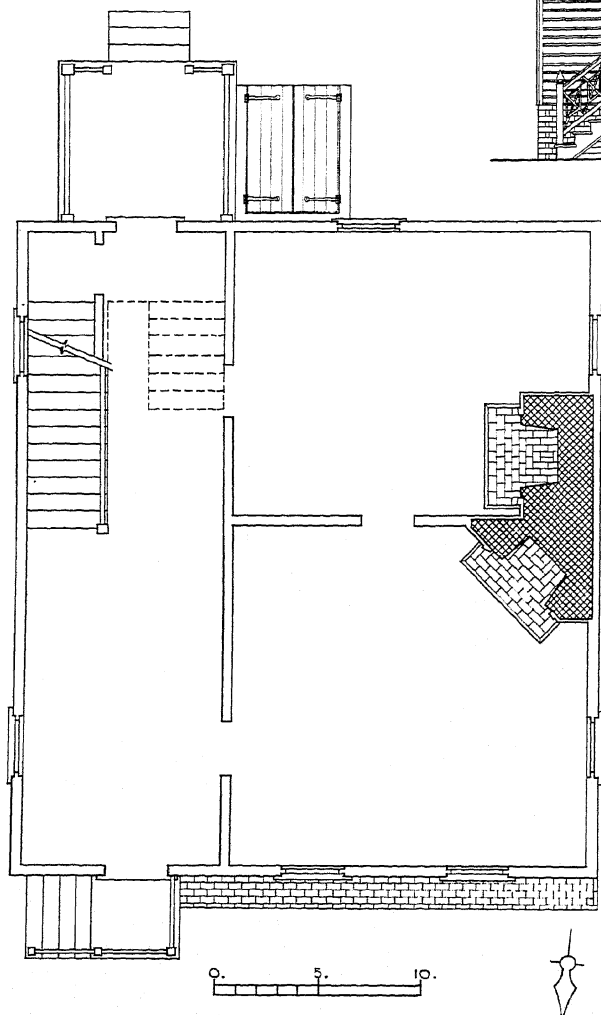


Figure 14. THE LIGHTFOOT HOUSE. Plan.

been developed to the exclusion of the others—and a drawing room, while the bedchambers were above. Studies and nurseries were other specialized rooms sometimes named in the inventories.

The double pile was in origin and by use a rural type, which could be built in the "green country towne" of Williamsburg only because there was plenty of space. The other types that we have distinguished, with their long fronts to the street, had before the seventeenth century been crowded out of most towns in England. There the typical urban dwelling was what Summerson has named the unit-house, "with a narrow frontage to the street, [and] rooms back and front on each floor," the front room on the ground floor often being a shop.¹⁰ Such unit-houses were built at Jamestown in the seventeenth century,¹¹ and, although the long street frontages of the lots favored the other types, they were built in Williamsburg throughout the eighteenth. The type is most easily recognized in the shops or stores, such as Prentis and Company's and Nicolson's, which follow medieval practice in presenting gable ends to the street. But there are also dwelling houses pure and simple which belong to it, such as the gambrel-roofed Lightfoot (*Figs. 13, 14*), Powell-Hallam, Tayloe, and Orrell Houses, and the two-storied brick Palmer House. The plan of these, with their lateral entries and paired back and front rooms, is essentially that of the London terrace house. Moreover the gambrel roof, which covers all but one of them, lurks behind the parapets of many of the terraces of Georgian London (where it was called a curb roof). One can be confident, surely, that the resemblance is no mere coincidence. "The habits, life, customs, computations, etc. of the Virginians," wrote

Hugh Jones, "are much the same as about London, which they esteem their home."¹² Of the power of those habits and customs to influence architecture the *isolated terrace house*, so to call it, supplies a striking demonstration.¹³

HOUSE DESIGN AND THE CLIMATE

The piazza, in its Charlestonian and West Indian sense of a porch of one or two stories stretching along the whole of one or more sides of the house, was not common in eighteenth-century Virginia. If one thinks of domestic warmth in terms of open fires rather than central heating, the reason becomes clear: Virginia is far enough north for winter sunshine to be welcome. Virginians thought that on the whole they were fortunate in the climate of their land. "The Country," wrote Robert Beverley, "is in a very happy Situation, between the extreams of Heat and Cold, but inclining rather to the first."¹⁴ It was true, he said, that the summers had a bad reputation. But that was because "many of the Merchants and others that go thither from *England*, make no distinction between a cold, and a hot Country: but wisely go sweltering about in their thick Cloaths all the Summer, because they used to do so in their *Northern* Climate; and then unfairly complain of the heat of the Country."¹⁵ The truth was that their heat was "very seldom troublesome, and then only by the accident of a perfect Calm, which happens perhaps two or three times in a year, and lasts but a few Hours at a time; and even that Inconvenience is made easie by cool Shades, by open Airy rooms, Summer-Houses, Arbors, and Grottos."¹⁶

Here, "Grottos," as Mr. Charles C. Wall has suggested, probably means groves of trees; a

few old summer houses have survived, and the gardens of Williamsburg contain a number of reconstructed examples, as well as arbors. As for the airiness of the rooms, ceiling heights are generous even in the smaller eighteenth-century houses. Virginians understood very well that for comfort in summer air should be kept circulating. Hugh Jones, describing the houses of the colony in 1724, affirms that they were "cool in summer; especially if there be windows enough to draw the air." There was, he says, "a passage generally through the middle of the house for an air-draught in summer."¹⁷ As we have seen, the central passage was not invented for this purpose; it was inherited from English tradition. We can well believe, however, that climatic considerations were a factor favoring its retention. In its widened form in the larger houses its function as a ventilator was analogous to that of the two-story *salone* in an Italian villa. One should be chary of describing the "four-square" plan of such houses as Palladian, for in fact it could have developed without direct influence from the published works of Palladio.¹⁸ Nevertheless, these free-standing, cubical dwellings, with windows facing each of the four quarters from which a breeze may come, are as well adapted to the Virginian summers as are Palladio's villas to the similar summers of the Veneto—and through the application of just the same principles. Their internal planning is often of an uncompromising regularity and symmetry such as is found only in the more doctrinaire of their Palladian counterparts in England. And here again one may suppose that considerations of climate reinforced aesthetic preferences. The drafts which in England set the satirists against Italianate houses had their use in Virginia, and for at least part of

the year there was no risk of catching cold at a Venetian door.

The climate also influenced the choice of building materials, though the choice made was in fact the result of a misunderstanding of a climatic phenomenon, the humidity of the atmosphere in the Tidewater. Thomas Jefferson, in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, tells us that "the unhappy prejudice prevail[ed] that houses of brick or stone [were] less wholesome than those of wood."¹⁹ and that this was because people did not know that the "dew . . . on the walls of the former in rainy weather" was condensed moisture from the air; they thought that it was rain which had penetrated those walls. Not, he adds, that rain never penetrates brick walls:

But with us it is only through the northern and eastern walls of the house, after a north-easterly storm, these being the only ones which continue long enough to force through the walls. This however happens too rarely to give a just character of unwholesomeness to such houses. In a house, the walls of which are of well-burnt brick and good mortar, I have seen rain penetrate through but twice in a dozen or fifteen years. The inhabitants of Europe, who dwell chiefly in houses of stone or brick, are surely as healthy as those of Virginia. These houses have the advantage too of being warmer in winter and cooler in summer than those of wood; of being cheaper in their first construction, where lime is convenient, and infinitely more durable.²⁰

And he points out that even the "huts of logs" built by "the poorest people" (though never in Williamsburg) were "warmer in winter, and cooler in summer, than the more

expensive constructions of scantling and plank.”²¹

HOUSE DESIGN AND THE LAW

While in Virginia as a whole the design of the commoner forms of dwelling was thus the product of the meeting of English tradition with special social and climatic conditions, in Williamsburg it was affected by another factor as well—the law. The founders of Williamsburg were determined that it should achieve a certain architectural dignity, as befitted the seat of government, and they incorporated in the *Act directing the building the Capitoll and the City of Williamsburg* certain provisions with this end in view.²²

It was not the first time an act of Assembly had tried to give a Virginian capital worthy buildings. Thirty-seven years before, in 1662, an *Act for building a Towne* had tried to do the same for Jamestown.²³ This act provided for the erection of thirty-two houses, “each house to be built with brick, forty foot long, twenty foot wide, within the walls, to be eighteen foote high above the ground, the walls to be two brick thick to the water table, and a brick and a halfe thick above the water table to the rooffe, the rooffe to be fifteen foote pitch and to be covered with slate or tile, . . . regularly placed one by another in a square or such other form” as the Governor, Sir William Berkeley, should decide upon. “For the better expediteing this worke,” each of the seventeen counties into which Virginia was then divided was to make itself responsible for the erection of one house, and was authorized to impress building tradesmen for the purpose; “for avoiding the exaction of workemen,” prices and wages were fixed. And towards the end of the act there was a clause

which—although the Great Fire of London was still four years away—was suggested by the inflammability of timber construction: “And though in the infancy of this designe it might seem hard to demolish any wooden houses already built in the towne, yett it is hereby *provided and enacted* that noe wooden houses shall hereafter be built within the limitts of the towne, nor those now standing be hereafter repaired, but brick ones to be erected in theire steads.”

The practical results of this act of 1662 were negligible: only four or five brick houses were built.²⁴ The framers of the 1699 act for the building of Williamsburg started out with the advantage that they were concerned with a new site. Whereas the chief inducement offered to a Jamestown building owner under the 1662 act was a grant of ground on which to build a store, in Williamsburg the building of a house within two years was made the condition of the “saving” of each of the half-acre lots into which the city land was divided. There was nothing new in this; in Maryland, for instance, an act of 1683 for the establishment of six towns had laid down that each lot holder was to build “one sufficient twenty foot square house” by the end of August 1685, or forfeit his lot.²⁵ And the act that brought Annapolis into being in 1694 required each lot holder to “build one Twenty foot Square Dwelling house att least within twelve months after takeing up the same unless such building be larger then herein Expressed.”²⁶ Where the Virginian act of 1699 differed from other colonial acts for the founding of towns was in its attention to other aspects of domestic architecture than the dimensions on plan of the houses. On Duke of Gloucester Street, at least, an urban scale and regularity was ensured by the requirement:

That whoever shall build in the main street of the said city of Williamsburg, as laid out in the aforesaid draught or plot, shall not build a house less than ten foot pitch, and the front of each house shall come within six foot of the street, and not nearer; and that the houses in the several lots in the said main street shall front alike.

As for superficial dimensions, the floor area of each house was to be half as much again as the 20-ft.-square minimum of the Maryland statutes—"twenty foot in width, and thirty foot in length." The houses elsewhere than on Duke of Gloucester Street were to "be built in such a manner, and according to such rules and orders as shall be given, and made by the directors, by virtue of this act hereafter appointed, or by the incorporation of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of Williamsburg."²⁷ In the event, as we have seen in an earlier chapter,²⁸ the "back street" houses had to be "20 feet in length and 16 feet in width at the least with a brick chimney thereto."

In October 1705 the act was re-enacted with additions that provided for certain contingencies for which no special provision had been made in 1699. Under the act in its original form, anyone who bought two contiguous lots on Duke of Gloucester Street was under the necessity of building a twenty by thirty foot house on each. Not only was this inconvenient for the owner, but its effect ran counter to the clear intention of the framers of the act that the houses on the main street of the new town should be as large as possible. And so in 1705 it was enacted that the purchaser of two lots on Duke of Gloucester Street might save his lots by building a single house

of the plan dimensions of 50 by 20 ft. or, if it had two brick chimneys and a cellar, of 40 by 20—the house to stand on either or both of the two lots:

If any person shall hereafter take a grant of two lots, or half acres of land, upon the great street of the said city, commonly called *Duke of Gloucester street*,²⁹ and within the space of four and twenty months next ensuing such grant, upon the said lots or half acres, or either of them, shall build and finish one house fifty foot long and twenty foot broad, or within the space aforesaid upon the said lots, or half acres, or either of them, shall build and finish one brick house, or framed house, with two stacks of brick chimnies, and cellars under the whole house, bricked, forty foot long, and twenty foot broad, either of the said performances, shall be sufficient to save the grant of both the said lots. . . .

It was also made possible for the purchaser of two lots on Duke of Gloucester Street and one or more lots on the secondary streets to save all his lots by building on his Duke of Gloucester Street holding alone:

And if any person shall hereafter take a grant of two lots, or half acres of land, upon the great street of the said city, and one or more lots, or half acres backward, and within the space of four and twenty months . . . upon the lots or half acres contiguous to the great street, or either of them, shall build and finish in ordinary framed work, as much dwelling housing, as will make five hundred square feet superficial measure, on the ground plot, for every lot, or half acre

taken up; or . . . upon the said two lots, or half acres, or either of them, shall build and finish, in brick work, or framed work, with brick cellars under the whole, and brick chimnies, as much dwelling housing, as will make four hundred square feet superficial measure on the ground plot, for every lot, or half acre taken up, either of the said performances shall be sufficient to save the grant of all and every of the said lots.

That is to say, the purchaser of two lots on Duke of Gloucester Street and one other lot on the street behind could fulfill the requirements of the law by building, for example, a sixty by twenty-five foot framed house on the former site—or, if he preferred, one of forty-eight by twenty-five in brick. And he could, of course, look forward to his vacant lot increasing in value with the growth of the town in population and prosperity.

Two more clauses in the act of 1705 require our notice. One of them stated that no house, “be the dimensions thereof never so large,” could save more than two lots on Duke of Gloucester Street—the building up of which was the end to which the other additions to the act of 1699 were directed. The other required “that every person having any lots . . . contiguous to the great street, shall inclose the said lots . . . with a wall, pails, or post and rails, within six months after the building, which the law requires to be erected thereupon, shall be finished,” the penalty for non-performance being set at five shillings per month per lot. Since the height of these walls and fences is not specified, there is a question whether the 4 ft. 6 in. minimum which the law already laid down as the height of a “sufficient fence” about cleared ground³⁰ was

held to apply; its application would have made a considerable difference in the general appearance of the town. But lots in the city of Williamsburg were hardly in the same category as the cleared land with which the previous laws about fencing had been concerned. If they had been, indeed, there would have been no need for a new law; the old would have applied to lots on Duke of Gloucester Street as much as to those in the rest of the town, of which the new law made no mention.

The 1699 *Act directing the building the Capitoll and the City of Williamsburg* and the continuing act of 1705 constitute a very respectable achievement in the history of town-planning legislation. Where housing was concerned their requirements were unambiguous, and of a kind whose performance could be easily enforced. Nor did they attempt the impossible by forbidding the building of wooden houses, as the *Virginian Act for building a Towne* of 1662 had done, and as later colonial acts outside Virginia were to do.³¹ The realism of their framers in this respect is the more notable because the most famous and most successful of all legislative measures that had the control of housing among their objects was the act for rebuilding London after the Great Fire, passed in February 1667, which had banned wood for the exterior of houses except for certain limited purposes.³² They certainly would have been familiar with the Rebuilding Act, and may well have derived the idea of controlling the “pitch” of the houses on Duke of Gloucester Street from it; for a system of height control, with houses divided into classes according to the relative importance of the streets upon which they fronted, was one of its great novelties.³³ Moreover, the specification of all measurements in multiples of ten shows that the Virginian legislators had

London practice in mind, for ten feet was the length of the London carpenter's measuring rod.³⁴ But the respect in which the London Rebuilding Act and the Williamsburg building acts were most similar was their workability, and consequent effectiveness.

The act of 1705 was the last piece of legislation that directly affected building practices in Williamsburg. From the 1730's on the colony's lawmakers attempted time and again to eradicate the notorious fire hazard of wooden chimneys—that is, chimneys with wooden frames having an infilling of “cats” of clay and straw—in other towns.³⁵ But thanks to its founders' foresight, and to what one might call the metropolitan mentality of its inhabitants, that was a trouble from which Williamsburg never suffered.

HOUSE DESIGN AND GEOMETRY

Mathematical formulae have played an important part in design so often in the history of Western architecture that it need not be thought any matter for surprise if their use can be detected in the architecture of eighteenth-century Virginia. That it can in fact be detected in some of the public buildings of Williamsburg I have shown elsewhere.³⁶ Here we shall see that it can be detected in house design also.

Systems of proportion employing mathematical formulae are classifiable in two groups, the modular and the geometrical. In modular systems, which are essentially arithmetical, the dimensions of a building and of its component parts may be stated in terms of a given unit, the module. The prime example of a modular system is the classical one, as described by Vitruvius and elaborated by the theorists of the Renaissance; in this the semi-

diameter of a column at its base is the module, which (with its subdivisions, called minutes) is multiplied or divided to give the correct dimensions for everything else. In geometrical systems, on the other hand, dimensions are derived from a line of a given length by constructing upon it one or more geometrical figures.

The proportional formulae to be found in Virginian buildings of the eighteenth century are geometrical. Geometrical methods of proportioning were much used by the medieval builders, and their use here may be regarded as a medieval survival, though one by no means peculiar to Virginia. Practically, they had the advantage that the lines of the design on paper could be repeated full-size on site with strings, as an aid to accuracy in the work. On the aesthetic side, one may be sure that the geometrical figures which thus regulated design were still felt to have an inherent superiority, even if the proofs of that superiority advanced by earlier theorists were forgotten.

For those theorists, the most perfect figures had been the circle and the square. In colonial Virginia the circular plan was practically confined to simple utilitarian structures, such as pigeon-cotes and icehouses, but the square was fundamental to much domestic architecture. In Williamsburg, houses that are square on plan (or nearly square)³⁷ are the Peyton Randolph House (earliest section, 28 ft by 29 ft.), the Palmer House (36 ft. by 40 ft.), and the Orrell House (28 ft. by 28 ft.). The last, the Orrell House, measures 28 ft. also from the top of the basement wall to the roof ridge; as a result, its timber structure fits into a regular cube.

More commonly used than the square for over-all plan dimensions was the ratio 1:1½,

giving a square and a half. The smallest permissible house on Duke of Gloucester Street under the terms of the act by which Williamsburg was founded was of this figure: "twenty foot in width, and thirty foot in length." No house of these precise dimensions has survived, and it may be that few were built, but larger buildings of a square and a half on plan are the Archibald Blair House (approximately 30 ft. by 45 ft.), the Coke-Garrett House (eighteenth-century section, 26 ft. by 40 ft.), the Robert Carter House (30 ft. by 45 ft.), and the George Wythe House (36 ft. 6 in. by 54 ft. 6 in.). The 1:1½ ratio was also much employed in front elevations. In the Palmer House the front elevation between ground line and cornice forms a rectangle of 26 ft. 6 in. by 40 ft.; in the Dr. Barraud House that between the ground line and the roof ridge one of 31 ft. by 46 ft. In two other houses the elevation between the ground-floor level and the roof ridge forms a 1:1½ rectangle. These are the Archibald Blair and George Wythe Houses, in both of which the relevant vertical measurements are 30 ft. 9 in. and 36 ft. 6 in. respectively and the horizontal ones 46 ft. and 54 ft. 6 in.

End elevations, on the other hand, are more frequently controlled by the square. The reader with a head for figures may already have noticed that this is so in the Archibald Blair House, in which the height from ground floor to roof ridge and depth of the plan are each 30 ft., and also in the Wythe House, where the same dimensions are 36 ft. Another building that measures 30 ft. by 30 ft. in these dimensions is the gambrel-roofed Tayloe House. In the Ludwell-Paradise House the base line of the figure drops from ground floor to ground level, giving a square of 33 ft. 6 in.; in the middle section of the

Semple House, it was the height from ground floor to the cornice that was made equal to the depth of the plan, to give a square of 21 ft.

The double square is another common figure. The Bracken House is an example of a building twice as long as it is broad, being 40 ft. by 20 ft. Another was the John Blair House as first planned (36 ft. by 18 ft.). Examples of elevations that were apparently designed as double squares are numerous. In the Moody House the height from first floor to roof ridge is 22 ft. 6 in., the total length of the front 45 ft.; in the Ludwell-Paradise House the same measurements give 30 ft. and 60 ft. In the Robert Carter, Charlton, and Tucker Houses it is the front elevation between the basement wall and the eaves cornice that forms a double square, the respective measurements being 22 ft. 6 in. by 45 ft., 22 ft. by 44 ft. and 20 ft. by 40 ft. On the other hand, in the Archibald Blair and Wythe Houses the base of the figure is at ground level (the top still coinciding with the eaves cornice), the respective measurements being 23 ft. by 46 ft. and 27 ft. 3 in. by 54 ft. 6 in.

The gambrel-roofed Orrell House, as we have seen, is also 28 ft. from the top of the basement wall to roof ridge; thus its walls and roof are of the same height. In houses of two full stories this correspondence would seem to be uncommon, although it is to be found in the Brafferton, at the College of William and Mary.³⁸ In the story-and-a-half house it occurs frequently. Williamsburg examples of story-and-a-half houses in which the eaves cornice is precisely half as far from the ground as the roof ridge are the Brush-Everard (12 ft. 6 in. to eaves cornice), John Blair (13 ft.), Coke-Garrett (eighteenth-century portion,

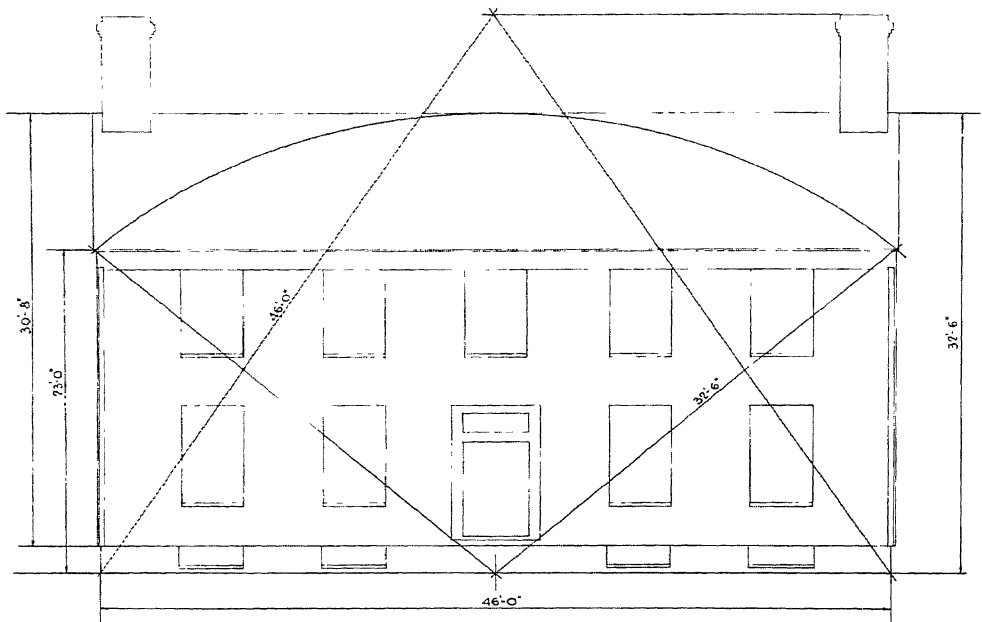


Figure 15. THE ARCHIBALD BLAIR HOUSE.
Diagrammatic elevation, showing system of proportion.

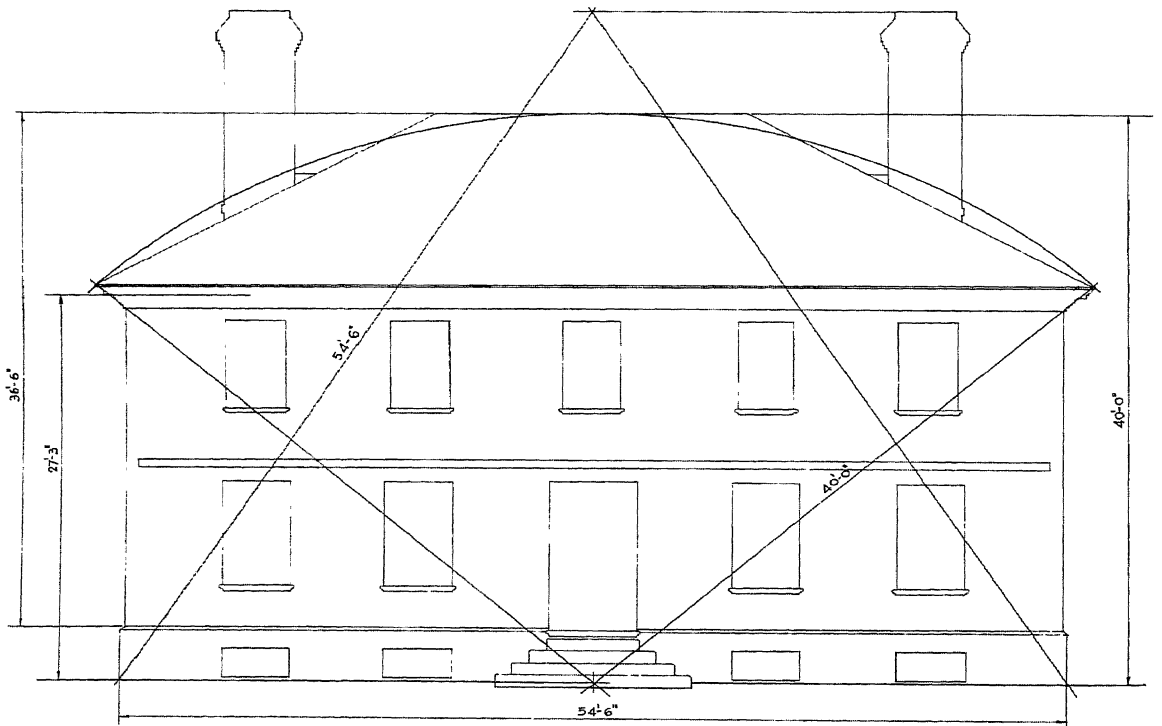


Figure 16. THE WYTHE HOUSE.
Diagrammatic elevation, showing system of proportion.

13 ft.), Bracken (13 ft. 6 in.), and Nelson-Galt (14 ft.) Houses.

The root-two rectangle—that is, the rectangle of which the length is equal to the diagonal of a square constructed upon the breadth—seems to have been used less frequently than its frequent occurrence in the public buildings of Williamsburg might lead one to expect. In the Archibald Blair House the height to the roof ridge can be stated as the length of the diagonal of a square constructed upon half the length of the building. But it can also be stated as the length of the radius of a circle having its center at the midpoint of the ground line of the elevation and passing through the extremities of the eaves. Since the height of the Wythe House ridge can also be stated in these terms, but not in the other, it seems likely that the circle and not the root-two rectangle was the real determinant.

The equilateral triangle, on the other hand, was much used, especially in the design of elevations. In both the Archibald Blair House and the Wythe House the height of the chimneys is equal to the altitude of a triangle with sides of the length of the house. Outside Williamsburg but not far away, Westover, in Charles City County, seems to show the use of the same ratio, its total length being 64 ft. and the height to the top of the chimneys 55 ft.³⁹ In the President's House at William and Mary, however, it is not the

chimneys but the roof ridge whose height could have been determined by an equilateral triangle with sides of the longer plan dimension.⁴⁰ Other Virginian houses of which the same may be said are Ampthill, formerly in Chesterfield County,⁴¹ and Menokin, in Richmond County.⁴²

The reader who is still inclined to doubt that geometrical systems of proportion were employed in eighteenth-century Virginia may examine the accompanying diagrammatic elevations of the Archibald Blair and Wythe Houses (*Figs. 15, 16*). And need it be said that the fact that many, indeed most, of these ratios are not perceptible as such to the human eye in the completed building is no argument against their efficacy as controlling factors in the impression that the building makes upon the beholder? It is true that the eye alone will not tell us that a façade is exactly twice as long as it is high, still less that the height to the eaves is half the height to the roof ridge. But that is not to say that such ratios do not have their own distinctive effects upon the eye, and that the eye will not perceive departures from them. The general use of certain ratios to determine the proportions of buildings is one of the factors that give Virginian colonial architecture a homogeneity which transcends the differences of one building from the next—in short, one of the factors that enable us to recognize it as a *style*.

CHAPTER V

The Houses of Williamsburg: Construction and Detail

WE HAVE NOW SURVEYED the materials and "necessaries," native and imported, that went into the houses of Williamsburg, have looked into what is known of the training and the lives of some of the men who built them and seen what tools and books they used in the exercise of their crafts, and have considered the main forms that the houses took and the general factors that influenced their design. The time has come to look at those houses rather more closely, to see how they were put together and how they were made easy on the eye. Before we set out to do this, it will be as well to make up our minds that there is a limit to the minuteness of detail into which such an investigation can lead us if our study as a whole is not to be overbalanced. And we should remind ourselves that few generalizations can be offered about any architecture—even one so set in its ways as the domestic architecture of eighteenth-century Virginia—to which no exceptions are to be found. The most that we can hope to do is come out at the end with a mind's-eye picture of what,

when all due qualifications have been made, may be called typical—a picture in which those features that are specially characteristic of the time and place, the eighteenth century and Virginia (or more narrowly Williamsburg), are kept as far as practicable in the foreground. Because of the numerical preponderance of timber-built houses, it is proper that we should turn to them first.

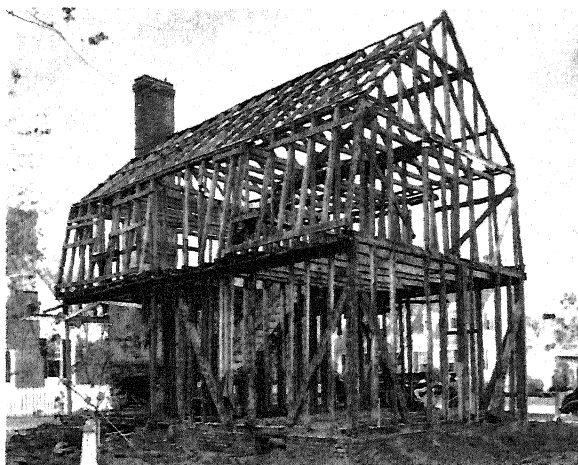
THE HOUSE FRAME

An account of the frame of a timber-built house (*Fig. 17*) logically starts with the groundsills, which rest upon the foundation walls and support all the rest of the structure. In a house of rectangular plan built all at one time there will be four of them, unless one or more is interrupted by a chimney, and in Williamsburg they will be of square or nearly square section measuring about 6-8 in. by 8-10 in.; when not square, they are bedded upon their broad sides (i.e., laid flat). Where they meet at the corners of the building they are joined by one of two methods, the mortise-and-tenon or the half-lap. When the mortise-and-tenon is employed, the mortise is cut in

the longer sills, at the front and rear of the building, and the shorter sills, at the ends, are tenoned to fit into them. Supported partly by the brickwork of the foundation walls and partly by the front and rear sills are the ground-floor joists, sometimes notched into the sills and sometimes mortised. There is some variation in the scantling, or sectional dimensions, of joists in Williamsburg. In the typical story-and-a-half A-roof house they are normally 3-4 in. wide by about 8 in. deep; in bigger houses they may be 3-4 in. by 10 in. or even 12 in.

At the four corners, over the junction of the groundsills, stand the most important upright members of the house frame, the corner posts. In the great majority of cases these are of oblong section, with the narrower sides about 2 in. less than the broader. An exceptional form occurs in the George Reid House, where to ensure that unusually heavy posts do not appear inside the house each of them is cut back on its inner face, so that the cross section becomes an equal-armed L. The broader sides of the corner posts—sometimes equal in breadth to the groundsills, more often a little narrower—face to the front and rear of the building. The length of the corner posts determines the height of the building from sill to roof; the existence of two posts standing one over the other—as in the central section of the St. George Tucker House—always means that the house has been heightened since it was first built.

Since either of the usual methods of joining the groundsills reduces the amount of wood in their ends to a degree which would make any deep insertion of the corner posts into them difficult and risky, the feet of the posts are equipped with small tenons at most and often are merely stood upon the sills. The



*Figure 17. THE EWING HOUSE
WITH THE FRAME STRIPPED FOR RESTORATION.*

chief means of holding them in place are the corner braces, a pair to each post. These are diagonal members, tenoned into the sill at a point usually between 5 ft. and 6 ft. from the corner post at one end, and into the post some 6-8 ft. above the sill at the other; the mortise-and-tenon joints, like all other major mortise-and-tenon joints in the frame, are secured with wooden pins called trenails. The corner braces, which are not dressed neatly but left quite rough, are usually equal in width to the deeper dimension of the studs, while the breadth of their vertical surfaces may be anything up to, or even greater than, the breadth of the corner posts. Since the cutting of two mortises into adjoining faces of the posts at the same level would weaken the latter unduly, one brace of each pair is tenoned into the post at a higher level than the other and is also somewhat longer. With this system of bracing, windows and doors could never be placed close to the corners of the building—a point missed by many purveyors of so-called colonial houses today. The outer surfaces of corner posts, studs, and braces are all kept flush.

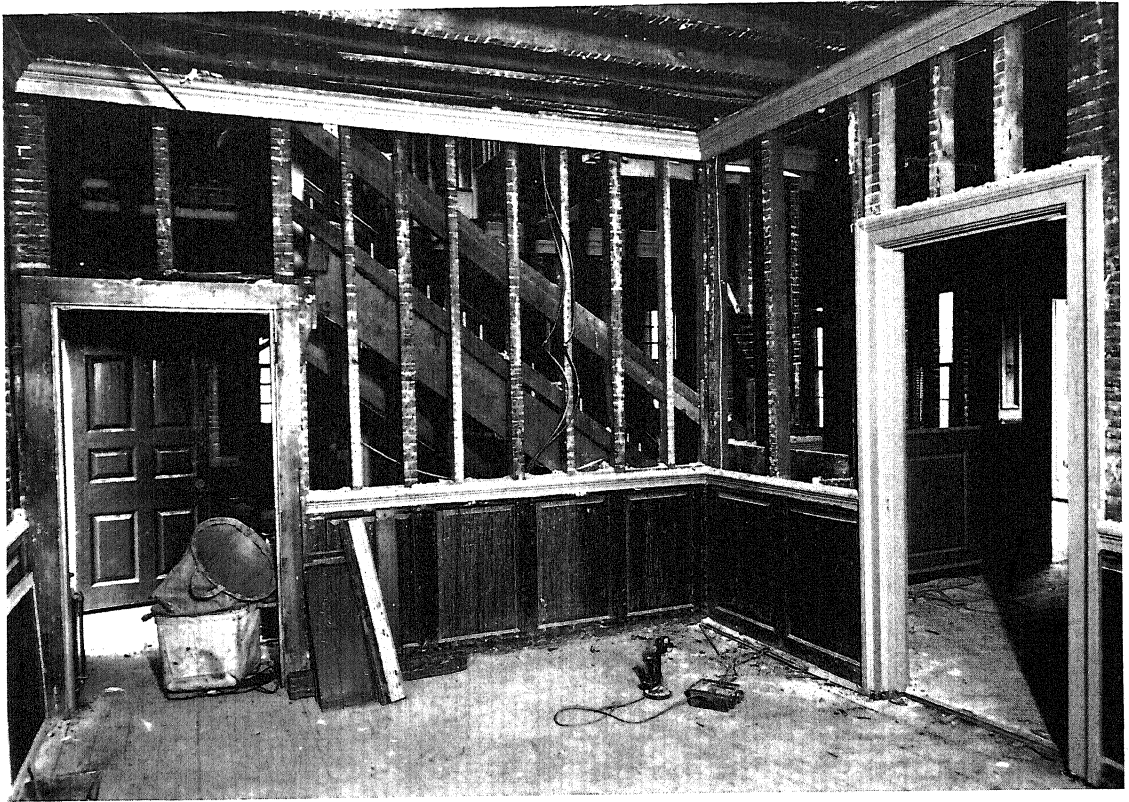


Figure 18. THE BARRAUD HOUSE IN PROCESS OF RESTORATION.
Interior, showing normal spacing of studs.

In addition to corner posts there may be intermediate posts at intervals, of the same or smaller scantling. Sometimes these have a brace similar to the corner braces on each side, sometimes on one side only; sometimes they are not braced at all. Where there were intermediate posts there was a natural tendency to abut the internal partitions against them, but it was not the invariable practice to do so, and many smaller houses had no intermediate posts. In the George Reid House where, as we have seen, the corner posts are of unusual form, the intermediate posts are shaped into a T section, the partitions being received by the foot of the T.

The secondary vertical members in the

wall frame are the studs. These are much lighter than the posts, with a scantling of $2\frac{1}{2}$ -4 in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ -6 in.—studs as much as 6 in. deep being rare and the commonest size being around 3 in. by 4 in.¹ Normally they are spaced at 20 in. to 22 in., center to center (Figs. 18, 19). The method of framing the studs varies a good deal. Sometimes they are tenoned below and above—that is, into the sill and into the plate—and sometimes they are tenoned below but not above; sometimes they are notched into the plate with a diagonal cut, and sometimes they are simply nailed. There is a relationship between the spacing of the studs and the framing of the diagonal braces, for the latter customarily

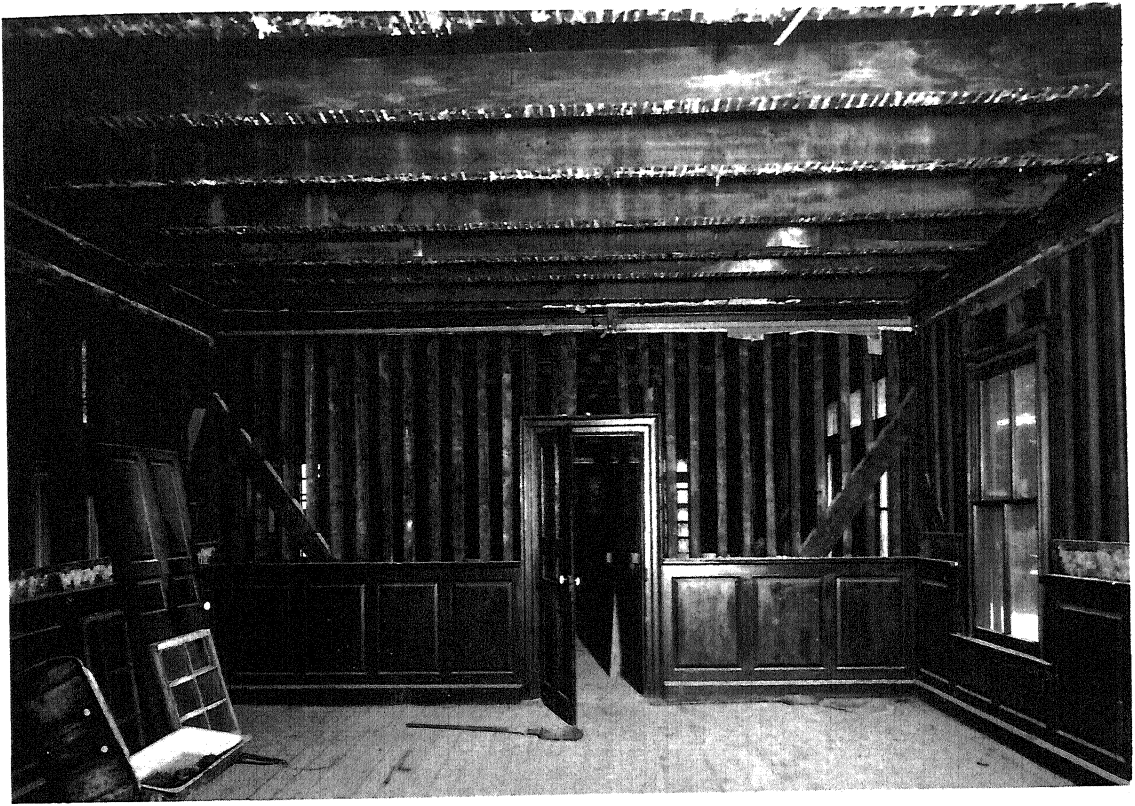


Figure 19. MARKET SQUARE TAVERN IN PROCESS OF RESTORATION.
The parlor, showing studs at one-foot centers.

are tenoned into the sill where the third stud from the post that is braced would otherwise meet it. This stud is cut off diagonally at the foot and fastened to the upper surface of the brace, and the two studs between it and the post break at the brace and are nailed to its upper and lower surfaces.

For the sake of simplicity the studs have just been described as being fastened at the top to the plate. This is true of a single-story (or story-and-a-half) house, and therefore of most of the frame houses in Williamsburg. But in a frame house with two full stories the next horizontal member above the groundsill is one whose function it is to support the second floor and which, whether or not the

term was used in Virginia, we may follow J. F. Kelly in calling the girt. The ends of the girts are framed into the corner posts, and from their upper surfaces rise the studs of the second story, placed over those of the first. The girts at the front and rear of the house also receive the ends of the joists. In a small house the joists span the whole depth of the plan; in a larger one each joist may go approximately halfway, its inner end being framed into a heavy longitudinal member called a summer-beam. However, summer-beams were used in frame buildings in Virginia less often than they were in New England.

And so we come to the plate, at the top of the wall. In a frame building the plate is ef-



Figure 20. BRICK NOGGING AT THE PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE.

fectively a part of the wall in that it holds in place the upper ends of the studs; in one of brick its function is to provide a homogeneous base for the wooden roof structure. In the latter it is of oblong section and laid flat, its breadth being usually 2-4 in. less than the thickness of the wall below. In a frame building, on the other hand, if it is not square in section it is framed with its broader sides (in Williamsburg measuring from 6 in. to 9 in. across) vertical; its breadth in this case is equal to the larger sectional dimension of the studs, which in Williamsburg, as already noted, varies from $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 6 in. The end plates are framed so that their upper surfaces

are level with the upper surfaces of the joists, which are notched over the front and rear plates to a depth of from $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. and project outside them from 8 in. to 1 ft. 3 in. From the end plates, unless the roof is hipped, rise the gable-end studs, which do not necessarily range with the studs below.

In the great majority of cases there was no infilling between the members of the frame. However, a few instances of brick nogging have been found in Williamsburg (*Fig. 20*), and there is a documentary reference to the practice in a memorandum of 1789 relating to the St. George Tucker House: "M^r William Harwood undertakes to fill in the sides of

S. G. Tuckers house with brick bats plastered in clay, and to cover the same . . ."² It is worth note, perhaps, that an experiment in brick nogging by Colonial Williamsburg was greeted with enthusiasm by the termites.

THE ROOF FRAME

The types of roof in common use in Williamsburg are the A roof, whose name is description enough, the gambrel roof, which has a double slope back and front, and the hip roof, which has four slopes; the Robert Carter House, uniquely, has what is in form if not in structure a mansard roof, which has four double slopes.

In Tidewater Virginia the structural frame of roofs of all types includes a member which, whatever its provenance and its distribution, seems not to be shown in any of the books, old or modern, that illustrate roof framing practices. This member is usually in the form of a

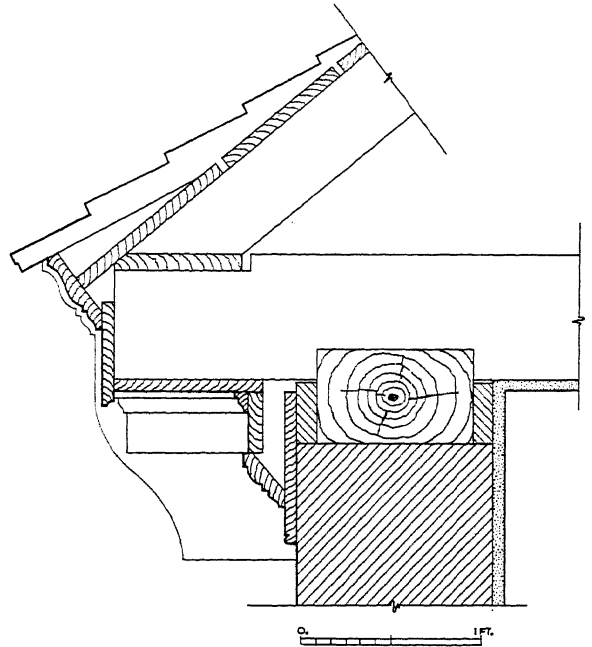


Figure 22. EAVES DETAIL OF A BRICK HOUSE.
(The Palmer House.)

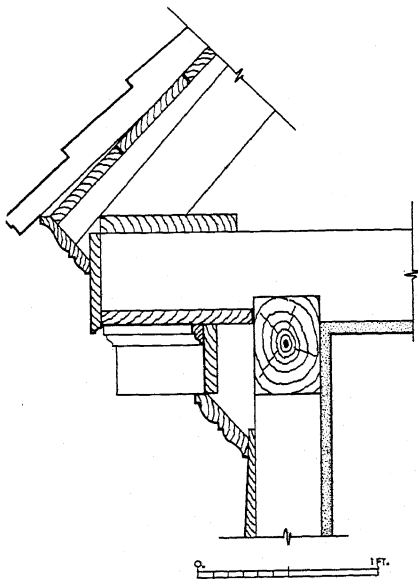


Figure 21. EAVES DETAIL OF A FRAME HOUSE.
(The Brush-Everard House.)

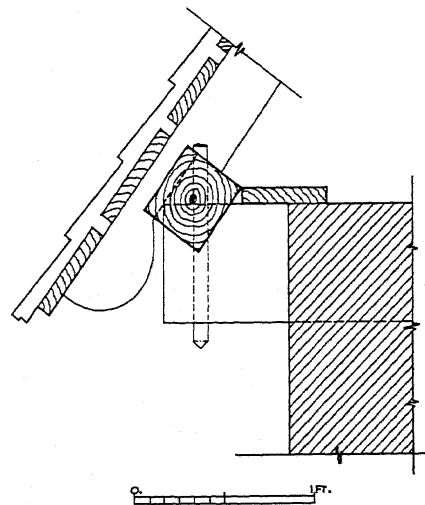


Figure 23. EAVES DETAIL OF A BRICK HOUSE,
SHOWING FALSE PLATE SET DIAGONALLY
(Wishart House, Princess Anne County, Virginia).

board, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick by 6-8 in. wide, laid flat upon the ends of the joists, which as we have seen project beyond the wall (Figs. 21, 22). More rarely, and it would seem only in early houses, it is a scantling of square section let into the upper surface of the joists diagonally (Fig. 23).³ It is to this *false plate*, and not as in more conventional systems of roof framing to the wall plate, that the lower ends of the rafters are attached. With the flat type they are cut off diagonally at the foot to rest upon its upper surface, while with the diagonal type they are notched over its uppermost angle and continue down and out beyond the end of the joists.

The term false plate will not be found in the glossaries. It is adopted here from William Penn's *Information and Direction to Such Persons as are inclined to America, more Especially Those related to the Province of Pennsylvania*, printed in 1684.⁴ In this tract Penn gives instructions for building a frame house thirty feet long by eighteen broad. After describing the plates "for the *Gists* [joists] to rest upon," he writes: "There must be ten *Gists* of twenty foot long, to bear the Loft, and two false *Plates* of thirty foot long to lie upon the ends of the *Gists* for the *Rafters* to be fixed upon. . . ." In that Penn's false plates were to *lie upon* the ends of the joists they resemble the feature in its commoner Williamsburg form more closely than do either the Connecticut examples of the "second plate" illustrated by Kelly⁵ or Owen Biddle's "raising piece,"⁶ for these are framed into tie beams or into end girts.

The false plate greatly facilitated the bringing forward of the eaves to make room for a classical cornice. This could be done by fastening the feet of the rafters directly to the projecting ends of the joists. But in that case the spacing of the rafters and the spacing of

the joists had to be the same. When the false plate was used, they could be different; and in Williamsburg the rafters, at about 2 ft. from center to center, were in fact usually a little more widely spaced than the joists. Penn's reference to the device invites one to assume that it was employed in England in the seventeenth century, if not the eighteenth; where and how much are questions that cannot at present be answered. The overhang of the upper stories of medieval buildings was managed in much the same way;⁷ and there, perhaps, one may see its origin. That it does not appear in the builders' handbooks of the eighteenth century is only to be expected. For these illustrate London practice, and in London the wooden eaves cornice was, after 1707, prohibited by law.⁸

While the use of the false plate characterizes Williamsburg roof framing positively, a negative characteristic is the absence of any ridgepiece. The normal A roof of the smaller house is framed with common rafters, of 3-4 in. by 5 in. scantling, with collar beams, or wind beams,⁹ to tie each pair of rafters together at approximately two-thirds of the height of the roof structure; the rafters are left quite rough except at the joints. At the ridge the rafters are joined with an open-end mortise-and-tenon and pegged; the collar beams are joined to the rafters with half-lap dovetails and nailed.

The gambrel roof may be seen as the lower part of an A roof in which the rafters have been cut off level with the upper surface of the collar beams (lengthened to give the rafters a much steeper pitch), with a complete A roof of conventional construction on top of it. The longitudinal members to which the lower ends of the upper rafters are fastened are called the curb plates. Of these it should

be noted that they rest upon the lower rafters and not upon the studs of the gambrel story,¹⁰ although the latter, which are fastened to the lower rafters at the top and to the joists at the foot, naturally have some bracing effect (as do the studs in an A roof also).

Only a minority of buildings were given roofs with framed principals, or trusses—among those of brick the Wythe House, the Palmer House, and the Prentis Store, but not the Ludwell-Paradise House, and among those of timber Wetherburn's Tavern. The trusses are usually of the king-post type—that is to say, they have a single vertical post from the tie beam to the ridge—with diagonal braces; the Prentis Store had a queen-post roof, with two vertical members in each truss. In trussed roofs, and only in trussed roofs, were the longitudinal members called purlins employed. Framed into the principals, these have the duty of helping to support the common rafters. Their junction with the latter is managed in a variety of ways. Most commonly the rafters are notched over them; but sometimes the rafters are simply laid against them without any cutting and sometimes, at the other extreme, the rafters break at the purlins and have their ends tenoned into them. Trussed roofs also have a variety of diagonal braces between the trusses, usually following no regular pattern and somewhat haphazard, not to say chaotic, in effect. Where these braces meet the rafters it is the rafters that are interrupted.

WEATHERBOARDS AND SHINGLES

The sheathing of the Virginian frame house in the eighteenth century was nearly always of sawn weatherboards or clapboards,¹¹ most commonly of yellow pine but sometimes of

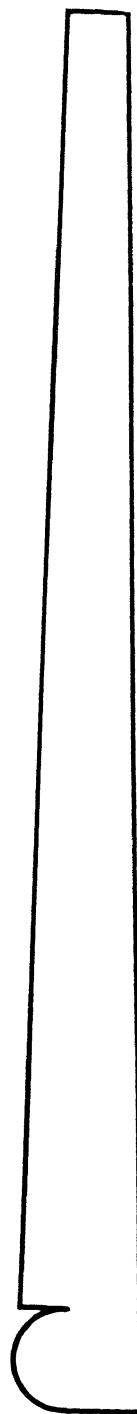


Figure 24.
SECTION OF TYPICAL BEADED WEATHERBOARD.

poplar. A rarely used alternative, for walls as well as for roofs, was narrow split boards of oak about 4 ft. long.¹² It is a likely guess that the latter were used more often in the seventeenth century, and were given up as inefficient in comparison with sawn weatherboards. Another possible alternative, horizontal flush boarding, was on houses generally confined to dormers and porches, though used extensively on outbuildings.

Weatherboards were normally about $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. They were made by dividing ordinary boards through their thickness, each board supplying two weatherboards; the cut was diagonal, so as to give each board a wedge-like cross section. The right-angled (or outer) arris of the thicker edge of the weatherboard was usually, for all but the simplest kind of building, beaded—that is to say, given a small segmental molding with a molding plane (*Fig. 24*). (This bead might be called the hallmark of colonial work in Virginia, being employed for boards of all kinds in all positions, and also on door and window frames; besides producing a good shadow it has the practical advantage of preventing splintering.)

The weatherboards are nailed to the frame with an overlap of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., so that each shows about 6 in. “to the weather.” The bottom weatherboard overlaps the brick of the basement wall about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Each corner of the building is finished with a corner board, which is a narrow vertical board, also beaded, nailed to the front of the corner post. The outer surfaces of the corner board are flush with the beaded edges of the weatherboards that are stopped against it. Where beaded weatherboards run up against a window sill the bead may be continued along the lower outer edge of the sill. At the top of the wall

there sometimes is a board with a vertical face, flush with the corner boards, to receive the cornice; this board is beaded like the weatherboards, the uppermost of which it overlaps.

The way in which the members of the eaves cornice were fixed to the rafters and the projecting joists is shown in the drawings.¹³ There is nothing specifically Virginian about the details of the cornice, which follow the usual classical patterns with variations, suggested by the taste and knowledge (or ignorance) of the individual carpenter, from one building to the next. But there is a point to be noted about the treatment of the end of the cornice in A-roof buildings. In colonial Virginia the cornice was never, in such buildings, returned only a short distance along the gable wall, as was common practice in New England. If the cornice is returned along the gable wall at all, it is continued right across it from side to side so as to turn the gable into a pediment. More often than not it is stopped against a shaped end board, the outer face of which is flush with the rake board of the roof; end boards do not necessarily follow the profile of the cornice and show considerable variety of design.

Coming to the roof, we may first note a refinement in the design of the rake boards. These, instead of having parallel edges, nearly always taper towards the ridge; and the rake boards of gabled dormers do the same. It is proper to call this a refinement, for there can be no doubt but that it is one of those details which, though it is unlikely to be noticed until pointed out, contributes materially to the characteristic elegance of the Virginian colonial house.

The shingles were nailed to random-width boards, or to shingle laths or roofers (to give them the name they bore until quite recent-

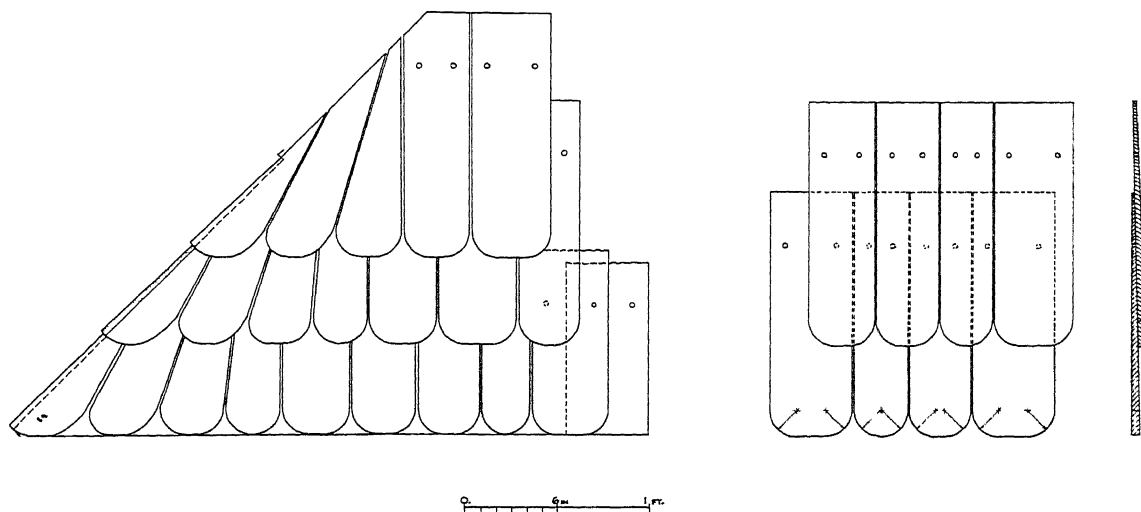


Figure 25. DETAILS OF SHINGLED ROOF, SHOWING FAN-TAILING AT HIP (LEFT)
AND SYSTEM OF LAPPING (RIGHT).

ly), which were nailed to the rafters; roofers vary in width from 4 in. to 6 in. As a rule, neither boards nor roofers were fixed snug, edge to edge, but a space of 1 in. to 2 in. was left between them to allow the house to breathe.¹⁴ Shingles were of random widths, from 3 in. to 5 in.; they were usually about 18 in. long and were laid so as to show about 6 in.¹⁵ Although rectangular shingles were common enough, those with round butts seem to have been in the majority, so far as we can judge. The round-butt shingle has a practical advantage in that it does not curl, as the square-butt shingle is apt to; it seems likely that it was preferred for reasons of appearance also. It should be noted that only a few shingles on any roof would have truly segmental butts. This is because a roof covered with such shingles would, owing to the fact that their widths varied, present a series of intolerably erratic lines to the eye.

At the hips of a roof the shingles were "fan-tailed," as shown in the accompanying drawing (Fig. 25). Valleys and ridges confronted

the colonial builder with difficulties which his modern counterpart overcomes with special tiles or metal flashing, both denied to him. In a valley, which occurs as a rule only where the main roof meets that of a dormer, the shingles were carried over from one to the other in a way that is more easily seen than described. At the ridge, whether of the main roof or of a dormer, the shingles were laid so that those on one side projected about 2 in. above and over those on the other. The choice of which side of the ridge to carry up in this manner was not settled by chance or whim, but with a sound regard for orientation: it had to be the side that received the most prolonged rain. In Virginia, where it was common knowledge that the northeasterly storms were the ones to be feared,¹⁶ the eighteenth-century builder chose the north or east.

From our station in time we may be inclined to regard shingles as a makeshift, a substitute for more durable kinds of roofing. Earlier ages did not so regard them. In medieval England oak shingles were much used

on buildings on the royal estates, and it was the rising cost of timber, as much as anything else, that led to stone slates and earthen tiles superseding them.¹⁷ To the eighteenth-century Virginian the lightness of a shingled roof, and the ease with which it could be stripped and re-covered, may well have seemed to counterbalance the disadvantages of its short life and inflammable nature.

It was a fixed principle of the eighteenth-century builder that all woodwork exposed to the weather should be given a protective coating. Shingles, as a quantity of evidence goes to show, were often tarred;¹⁸ there is no evidence that they were then, while still wet, sprinkled with sand—which an observant Russian traveller described as a general American practice in the early nineteenth century.¹⁹ Sometimes shingles were painted with oil paint, and sometimes, as the agreement between St. George Tucker and Jeremiah Satterwhite transcribed as Appendix II shows, fish oil was mixed in with the paint.²⁰ As for weatherboards, we have Hugh Jones's word for it that they were painted with white lead as early as the first quarter of the eighteenth century,²¹ and there are numerous references to white lead in the documents to make it clear that it was the common practice later, although browns, grays, and ochre were also to be seen. However, the Tucker-Satterwhite agreement will tell the reader more about the painting of a Williamsburg house in the eighteenth century—even if rather late in it—than could any amount of generalization here.

BRICKWORK

Although houses built wholly of brick were in a minority in Virginia, there was always enough demand for the bricklayer's services

to make his craft a vital and developing one throughout the colonial period. Even in frame houses the foundations and chimneys were normally of brick, and the shortage of stone led to its frequent use for steps and paving.

In the seventeenth century brick walls were most commonly laid up in English bond (alternate courses of headers and stretchers). In the eighteenth, Flemish bond (headers and stretchers alternating in each course) was the rule. For a major example of English bond in Williamsburg one must go to the oldest walls of the College of William and Mary, which antedate the founding of the town. However, English bond continued to be employed quite often for the foundation walls and chimneys of frame houses, and in brick houses below the water table. Whatever the bond, the mortar joints of all exterior brickwork, which varied in width from $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in., were *lined*. That is to say, after the joints had been cleaned with the trowel, an incised line was drawn along the center of the face of the mortar with a special iron tool, sometimes called a jointer,²² and the aid of a straightedge.

The walls of a brick house could be articulated and given richness and variety through the use of rubbed, molded, cut, and gauged bricks, and glazed headers. These last, as mentioned earlier, are bricks that have been given a dark glazed surface by proximity to the fire in the kiln; the other terms may be briefly defined. *Rubbed bricks* take their name from the fact that the sand which adhered to their surfaces when they left the brickmaker's molds (where the sand was used to prevent the clay sticking to the wood) has been removed from their exposed surfaces by rubbing with a rub-stone, or sometimes with other bricks, so as to leave them quite smooth;

bricks which from their position in the kiln were rather soft and of a light red color were chosen for rubbing. *Molded bricks* are what today would be called purpose-molded—made in specially shaped molds for use in water tables, string courses, and doorways. *Cut bricks* are bricks that have been shaped with the chisel or brick ax. *Gauged bricks* are bricks that have been shaped with special care, either by cutting or molding, rubbed, and laid with very close joints, the mortar being not more than $\frac{1}{8}$ in. thick and sometimes as little as $\frac{1}{16}$ in.

In Williamsburg the Wythe House (c. 1750) is as good a building as any for observing the ways of the colonial bricklayer. The bond is Flemish above the water table and English below it. All joints, vertical and horizontal, are lined. There is a consistent use of the small bricks known as closers next to the end header in each course that ends with a header, both at the corners of the building and at the window and door openings. Otherwise the brickwork is far from uniform, for the colonial bricklayer did not aim at mechanical accuracy, which anyhow was unattainable with bricks that varied so much in size, but rather at a satisfactory effect. By looking hard, the spectator can find many irregularities in the bond. The commonest is the substitution of a pair of headers for a stretcher, this being a standard device for reducing, by a fraction of an inch, the length of the course in which it occurs, usually preferred to the alternative of cutting a stretcher to fit. There is a scattering of glazed headers above the water table, but they do not form any regular pattern. For all quoins and jambs above the water table, but not below it, rubbed brick is used, and the water table itself, a simple chamfer, is of rubbed brick too.

The flat arches over the windows and doors are of rubbed and gauged brick. They are true arches, self-supporting, but only one brick thick;²³ the wall behind them is carried over the openings on wooden lintels. Also of rubbed and gauged work is the platband or belt course at the upper floor level. It will be noticed that the three courses of this feature, which stops short of the corners of the building, are equal in height to two courses of the wall brick. The chimneys are laid up in Flemish bond with closers and have substantial caps. Each of the latter consists of four courses corbelled out to the widest projection, which is two courses high with vertical faces, and above that four courses of cut or molded brick drawn in to the chimney top, which is also of two courses with vertical faces. Finally we note the brick steps, which have oak nosings to minimize wear.

Where there was a regular pattern of glazed headers and it was necessary to lay two or more headers side by side to bring a course to the requisite length, the colonial bricklayer was careful to use unglazed bricks for the extra header, or headers, and so maintain the pattern. To see this one may go to the Ludwell-Paradise House, where there are headers in pairs to the left of the front door and in triplets to the left of the window above it. Although closers were invariably used at the corners of a building, convenience sometimes led to their omission at jambs. Instances of this may be seen in the President's House at the College. In the Wythe House, as in most of the brick buildings in Williamsburg, the rubbed brick of the quoins and jambs is kept to a minimum, only the last brick in each course, header or stretcher as the case may be, being rubbed. The Prentis Store, however, shows intermediate rubbing (to

adopt the late Herbert A. Claiborne's convenient terminology),²⁴ with rubbed closers also. Of maximum rubbing, in which the headers next to the end stretchers and the stretchers next to the closers are rubbed, as well as the end bricks and the closers, there is no Williamsburg example. For the quoins below the water table, plain unrubbed brick was normally used.

Sometimes—in the Ludwell-Paradise and Palmer Houses, for instance, as well as at the College—segmental arches of rubbed and gauged work were employed for the basement windows instead of the flat arches we have seen at the Wythe House. But no brick house in Williamsburg has segmental window arches above the water table. All extant eighteenth-

century houses in the town have a plain chamfer for the water table,²⁵ and the plat-band constitutes the common type of belt course, the Allen-Byrd House being unique in having a belt course with moldings—a cove below and an ovolo or quarter-round above. Chimney caps vary somewhat in the design of their upper portions, but usually start with three or four corbelled courses below; they tended to become simpler towards the end of the century. The outside chimneys of frame houses, which with their sloping set-offs can become fascinating pieces of abstract sculpture, inspired the bricklayer to a deal of *ad hoc* ingenuity. The best old specimens in Williamsburg are the west chimney of the Reid House and the east chimney of the

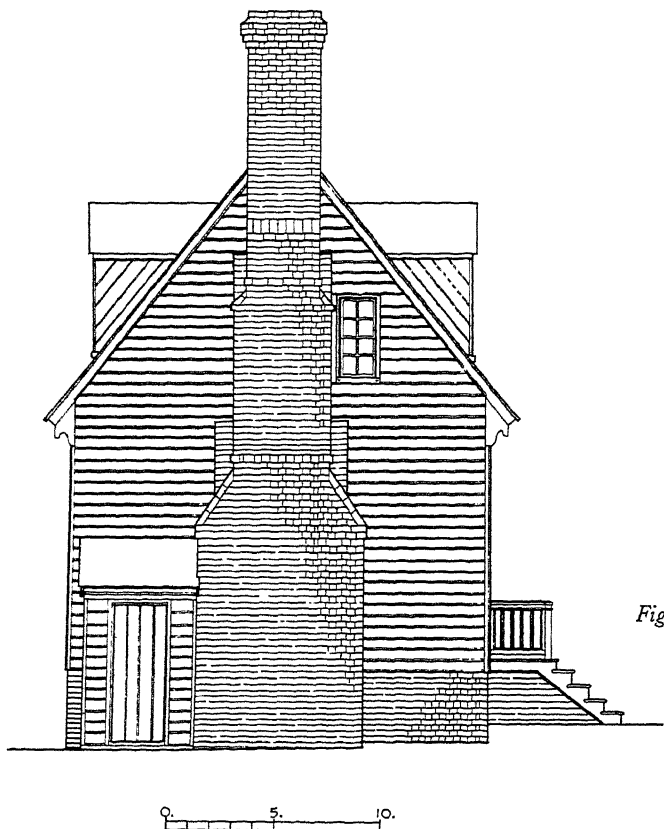


Figure 26. THE BRACKEN HOUSE. East elevation.

Bracken House (*Fig. 26*). Fireplace jambs were sometimes (e.g., in the central room of the Peyton Randolph House) lined with gauged bricks.

Finally, under the heading of brickwork, something should be said of the brick gutters at the foot of the walls—a feature of many houses in Williamsburg which may puzzle the reader's eye upon its first view of the plans in this book. The purpose of these gutters is to catch and lead away the rain which falls from the eaves, and they therefore do not occur at gable ends. It is probably wrong to regard them as a second-best substitute for lead eaves gutters, adopted because of the scarcity and high cost of that metal. The eighteenth century was well aware of the disadvantages of eaves gutters under certain circumstances. In *The Builder's Dictionary* (1734) we read, under the heading of Roof:

The common pitch [i.e., the pitch resulting from the use of rafters whose length equals three-quarters of the breadth of the building], is not only unpleasing to the Eye, but is attended with this Inconvenience, if there be a Gutter round the Building, the Steepness of the Roof occasions Rain to come with so sudden a Velocity and Force into the Pipes, which are to convey the Water from the Gutters, and sometimes to that Degree, that the Water runs under the Covering of the Roof, and very much endangers the Timber, &c. of the Building.²⁶

What was true of eaves gutters with a roof of common pitch in England was, owing to the much heavier rain, true of them with any kind of roof in Virginia; and the trouble that might result from water running in under the eaves was of course aggravated when the

building was of wood construction. The brick gutter may therefore be regarded as an eminently rational solution of a special regional problem.²⁷

WINDOWS AND DOORS

Nothing contributes more to the external effect of the Williamsburg house than its sash windows: they give it scale and sparkle.

In seventeenth-century Virginia casement windows with leaded lights were the rule for houses that boasted more than wooden shutters to keep out the elements. However, sash windows were specified for the Capitol in the act of 1699,²⁸ and it is likely that they were universal in the private houses of Williamsburg from the first. They were not a new invention; the *Dictionary of Architecture* of the Architectural Publication Society quotes what looks like a description of sash windows from a book published in 1519.²⁹ However, the first use of them in any quantity in England would seem to date only from 1685–1686, in the new wing built by Wren for James II at Whitehall Palace.³⁰ That they were beginning to become fashionable by then is suggested by an advertisement in the *London Gazette* in 1686: "Any Person may be furnished with Glasses for Sashwindows . . . at Mr. Dukes Shop."³¹ It was not until Queen Anne's reign that sash windows were generally substituted for casements in the older houses of London.³² So in this respect Williamsburg was well abreast of London practice.

Sash windows are usually said to have been invented in England; certainly it was from England that they were introduced into France (where they never became popular) at the end of the seventeenth century.³³ According to the *Dictionary of Architecture* the weight-and-pulley device by which the sashes

are held at the required height, and which by the time of Wren's Whitehall addition had succeeded the notch-and-catch contrivance employed in the earliest examples, "is considered to be a Dutch invention."³⁴ Evidently some at least of the Capitol sashes did not have weights and pulleys at first, for in June 1723 the Council ordered "that Mr. John Holloway and Mr. John Clayton who have the care of repairing the Capitol, do cause all the Windows in the Chambers on the 1st & 2d floor of the Capitol to be made to run with Leads."³⁵ The indications are that by the end of the colonial period all but the smallest sash windows in Williamsburg were equipped with weights and pulleys. On the other hand, the vast majority of them, of all sizes, were still single-hung; that is to say, only their lower valves could be moved up and down.³⁶ The muntins, or sash bars, varied astonishingly little in design (*Fig. 27*). It was evi-

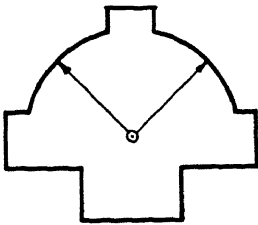


Figure 27. SECTION OF TYPICAL MUNTIN OR SASH BAR.

dently a rule that the two segmental moldings on the inner side of the glass should have a common center, whatever the thickness of the muntin or the relative sizes of its flat faces.

A feature that distinguishes eighteenth-century brick houses in Williamsburg, and indeed in Virginia generally, from their contemporaries in London is the setting of the window frame close to the outer face of the wall. This was forbidden in London by an act of Parliament of 1709, which ordained, as an

anti-fire measure, that the frames were to be set back four inches behind the wall-plane.³⁷ The act did not apply to the English provinces, but like other London building acts it affected them indirectly. Virginians continued throughout the colonial period to prefer the decorative effect of the older practice to the appearance of solidity given by deeper reveals.

What may be termed a local peculiarity in the design of fenestration, at least until it is shown to occur in other localities, is the scaling-down of upper floor windows. Williamsburg examples of this are provided by the Wythe and Tucker Houses, and outside Williamsburg an earlier one (c. 1730) is provided by Westover.³⁸ Of course it is usual enough in classical façades for the vertical dimension of the upper windows to measure less than that of those below; for them to be narrower is by all the rules most improper. Yet in the Wythe House, which might strike one as a design of some pretension to academic propriety, the upper window openings are narrower than the lower, being 3 ft. 6 in. wide as against 4 ft., as well as less tall (6 ft. 6 in. against 7 ft. 9 in.). This is not immediately noticeable because all the parts of the upper windows are scaled in proportion: their panes measure 8 in. by 10 in., while those in the lower are 10 in. by 12 in., their sash bars are 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide, while those in the lower are 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ in., and so on. A marked ambiguity of scale results.³⁹

Dormers are a prime example of a feature that by the eighteenth century had acquired distinctively Virginian forms (*Figs. 28, 29*). Dormers are not, as the casual observer might imagine, an integral part of the roof structure, but are framed separately. Each is fixed to the upper surface of two rafters, over the

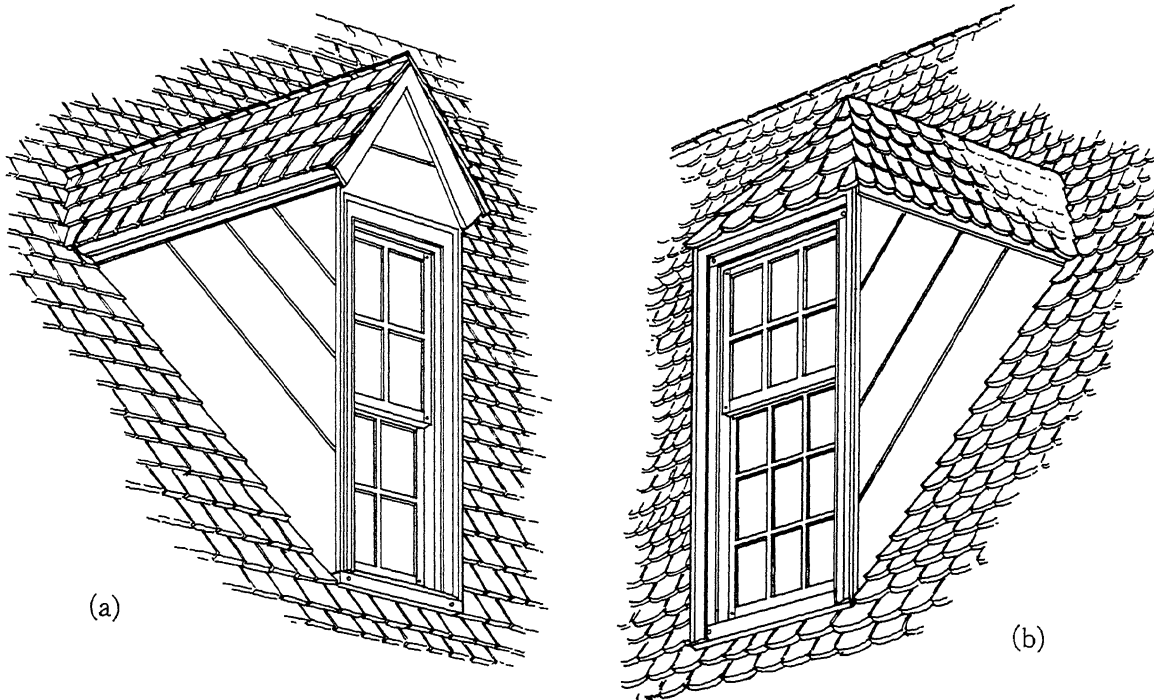
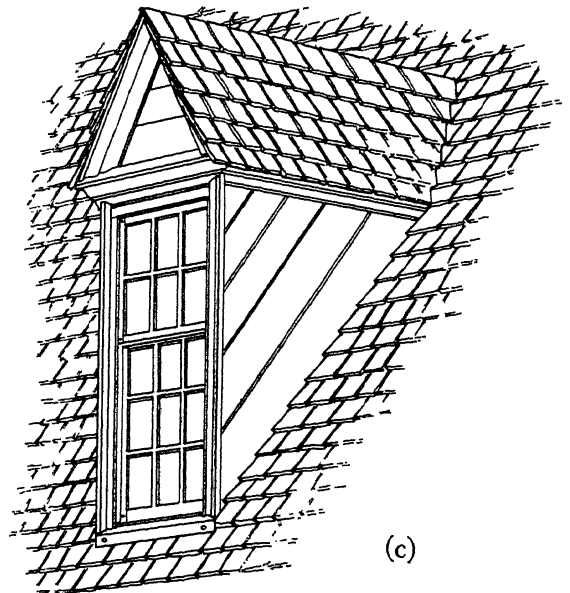


Figure 28. THE THREE VARIETIES OF DORMER USED WITH THE A ROOF: (a) WITH SIMPLE GABLE; (b) WITH HIP ROOF; (c) WITH PEDIMENTAL GABLE.

boarding to which the shingles are nailed, the intervening rafters being cut away as necessary so as not to obstruct the window opening. They could therefore be added to or removed from a house at will, and they often were. Virginian dormers are noticeably taller in their proportions than their counterparts in England. It might be supposed that this is the result of the invariable use in them of single-hung sash. But although it is true that in England casements were often retained for dormers when the windows of the main floors were equipped with sash, there are English dormers which were sashed from the first and yet do not approach the Virginian proportions. In the story-and-a-half Virginian house the dormers supply a strongly vertical—one



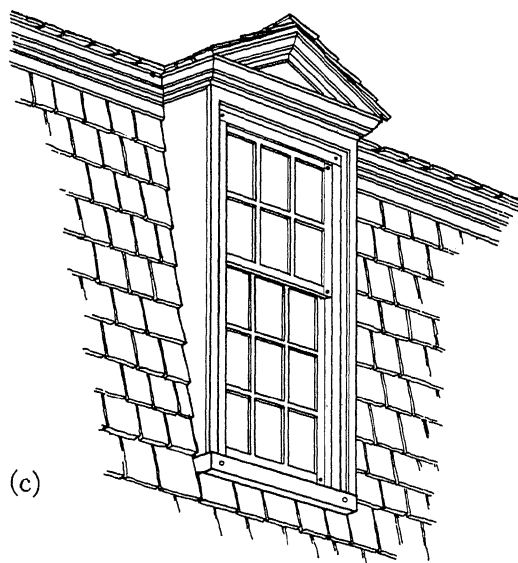
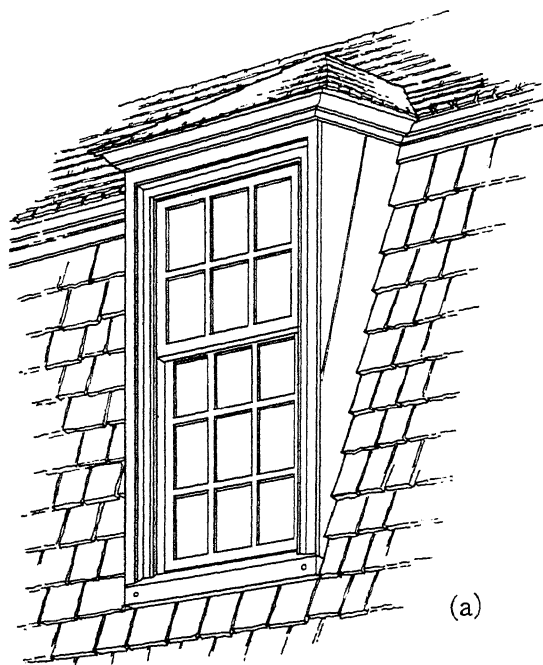
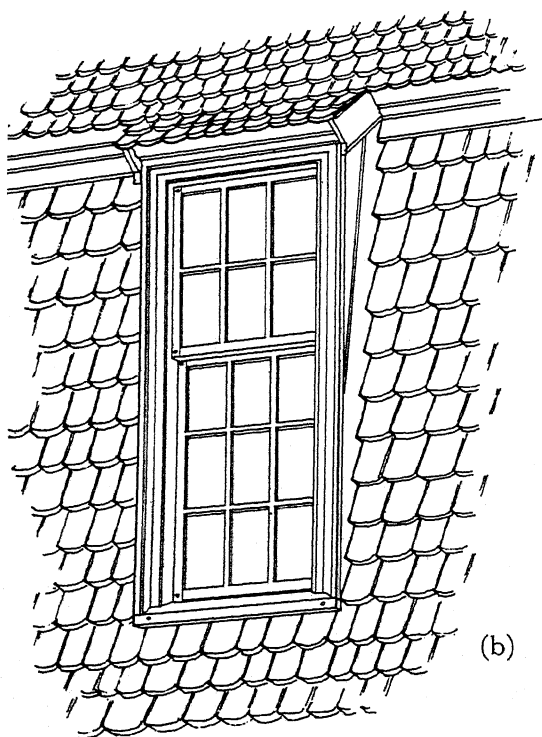


Figure 29. THE THREE VARIETIES OF DORMER
USED WITH THE GAMBREL ROOF: (a) HIPPED;
(b) SHED; (c) WITH PEDIMENTAL GABLE.



might almost say Gothic—accent. It is not only in their proportions, however, that Virginian dormers are distinctive; in two other important respects they are united as a single class or family. One is the slope of the roof; in eighteenth-century buildings in Virginia, the slope of the roof of a dormer is nearly always the same as that of the main roof on which it rests. When the latter is a gambrel, the dormer roof slope is the same as the upper slope of the gambrel roof. The other respect in which Virginian dormers approach standardization is the management of the boarding on their cheeks, or sides; this is nearly always of flush, beaded boards with lapped joints which run parallel to the slope of the main roof of the house.⁴⁰ Their front elevations, with the window flanked on either side by nothing more than a narrow molded architrave, exemplify that economy of means which is one

of the characteristics of colonial building in Virginia.

The only window openings that did not share the sash-bar grid pattern were those of cellars used for storage. Unglazed, these were closed with grilles of close-set bars, usually horizontal and usually of wood, occasionally of iron. External shutters were never used on brick houses, but were general on wooden ones. Both the paneled and the louvered types were employed. There is no evidence of the use of the shutter with movable slats, although since it was known in Europe before 1771 (when it was illustrated in Diderot's encyclopedia) the possibility that it was used in some of the later houses of the century need not be ruled out. Similarly, there is no record of the use of external sun-blinds of cloth or canvas on any private dwelling; but they were used at the College in 1766⁴¹ and it is hard to believe that a device used in England and of such obvious appropriateness in the Virginian summer would have been utterly ignored by the sweltering householders.

Of outside doors and doorways little need be said. Doors are generally of six- or eight-panel type; where there are double doors, the two leaves have each three or four panels as the case may be, and when closed look like a single large door of the usual pattern. Elaborate "frontispieces" with pediments and pilasters, such as a few Virginian plantation houses boast, are not to be found, owing doubtless to the secondary status that belonged to the town house; the molded trim of the frame constitutes the greatest degree of elaboration accorded to the doorway. Often there is an oblong transom light, with one or at most two rows of panes, above the door. Neither the sidelight nor the semicircular fanlight was used, so far as the evidence goes,

in any domestic building in eighteenth-century Williamsburg, although the fanlight occurs in the Courthouse of 1770 and in the Norton-Cole House, which dates from the first decade of the nineteenth century.

INTERIOR WOODWORK

For flooring, boards of yellow pine, from 5 in. to 8 in. wide, were normal. Edge-grain boards—boards, that is, which have been sawn radially from the log—were used in the majority of cases, their advantage being that they were much less liable to splinter than those with a flat grain. They were finished with the plane on the upper surface only, and sized, to a thickness of about $1\frac{1}{8}$ in., only where they were to lie upon the joists. Not infrequently they were joined with a tongue-and-groove. But the commonest and the most efficient method of joining floorboards was with splines—long strips of wood slotted into the edges of the boards—supplemented with wooden dowels at intervals. In inferior rooms and attics butt joints might be employed. Floorboards were usually face-nailed, occasionally blind-nailed, to the joists, the upper surfaces of which often show holes which were bored to receive the end of a tool used to force the boards tight.

Door frames were of two types: one in which two studs form the jambs; and the other, which is the more common, in which the jambs are separate pieces set inside the studs (*Fig. 30*). In the first type the inner moldings are cut in the stud itself. In both types the face moldings, against which the wall plaster is stopped, are applied; in the second type they are wider than in the first, since they have to extend over part of the stud to mask its junction with the jamb. A distinguishing mark of colonial door frames

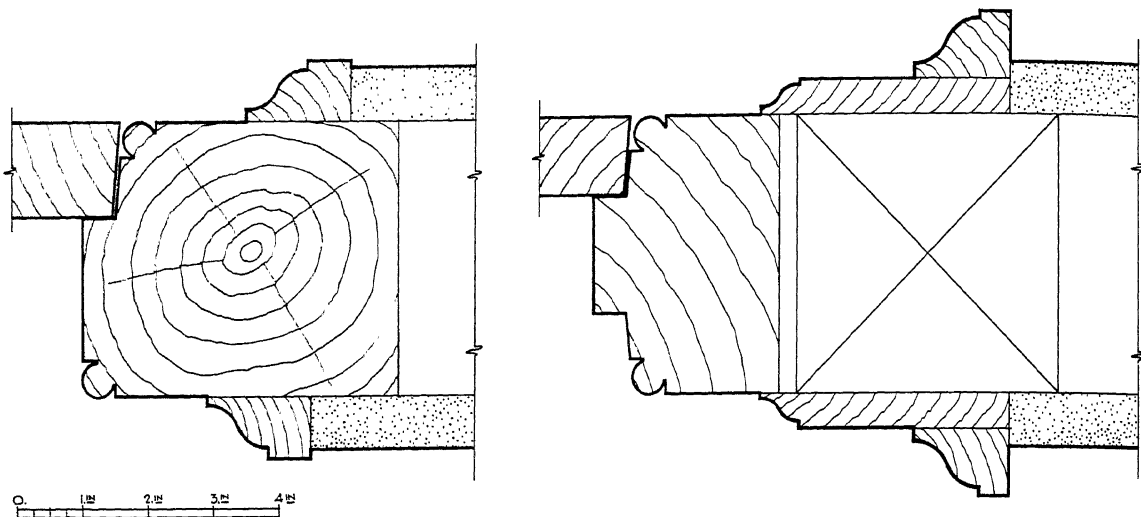


Figure 30.
 DETAILS OF THE TWO TYPES OF DOOR FRAME.
 Left: with stud forming jamb.
 Right: with separate jamb inside stud.

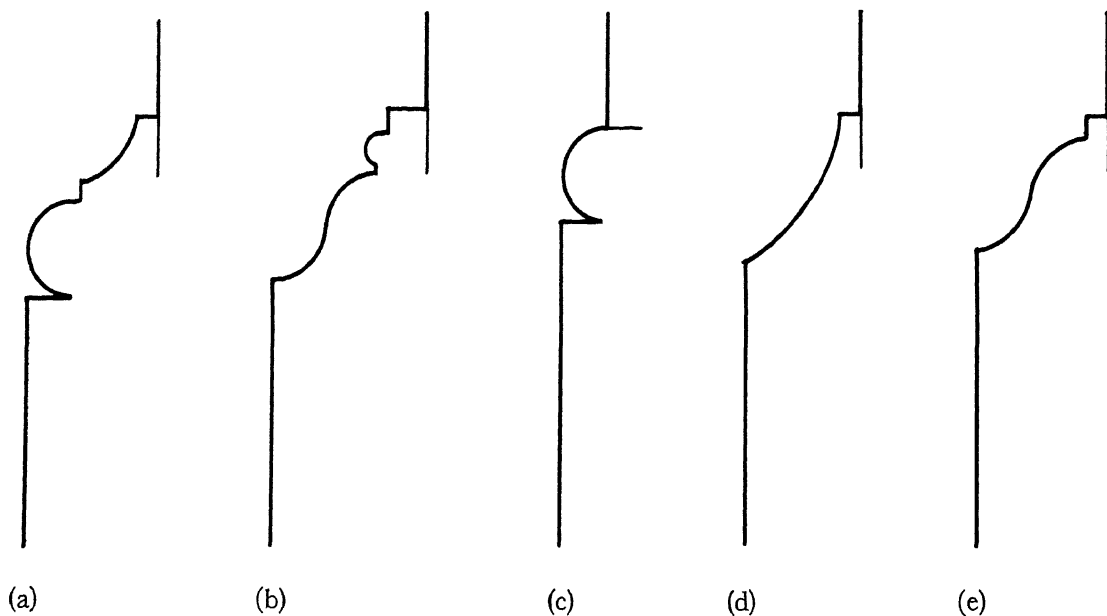


Figure 31.
 FIVE BASEBOARDS: (a) POWELL-WALLER HOUSE;
 (b) TAYLOE HOUSE; (c) BENJAMIN WALLER HOUSE;
 (d) PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE; (e) BARRAUD HOUSE.

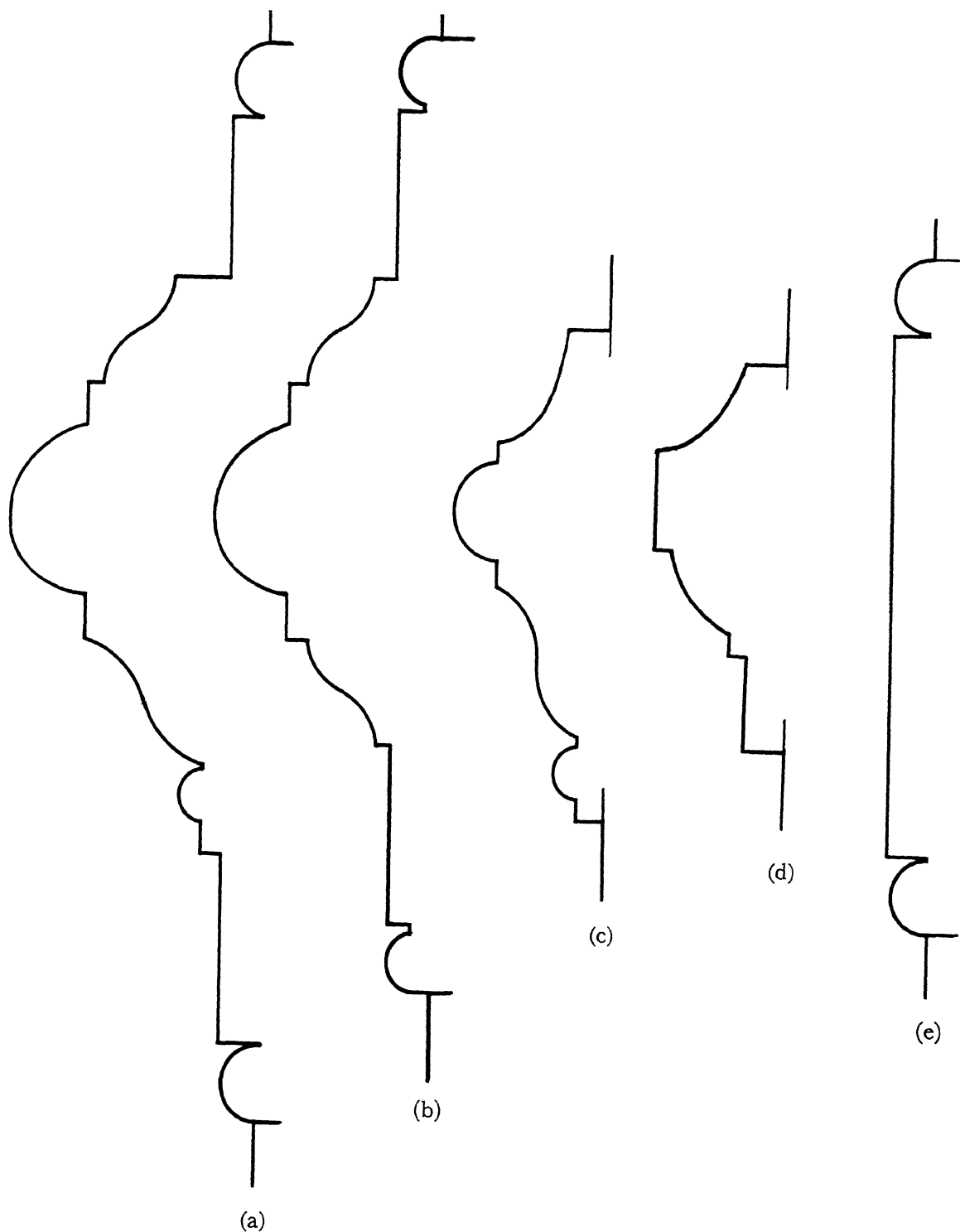


Figure 32. FIVE CHAIR RAILS:
 (a) BENJAMIN WALLER HOUSE; (b) GEORGE REID
 HOUSE; (c—e) PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE.

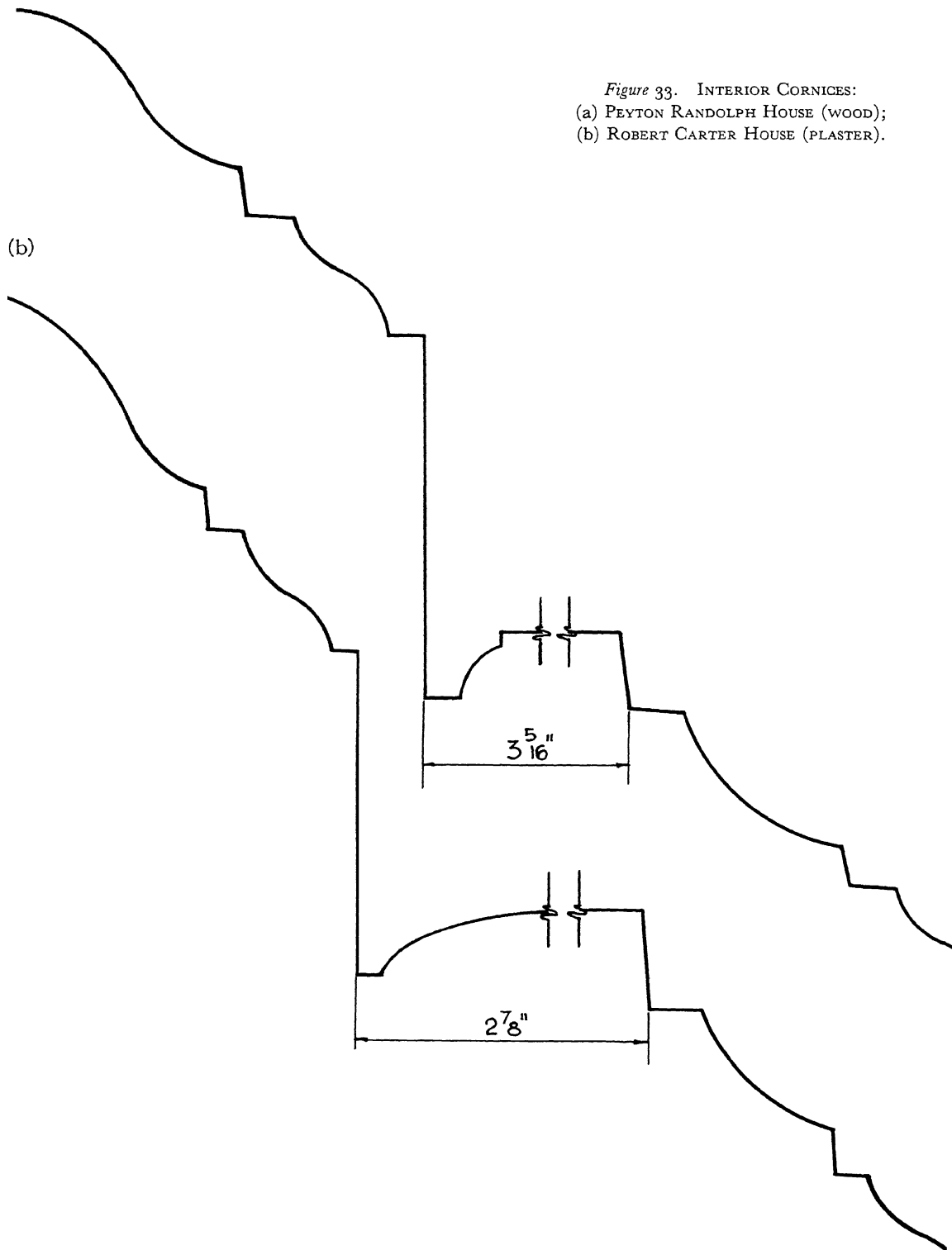
(a)

Figure 33. INTERIOR CORNICES:

(a) PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE (WOOD);

(b) ROBERT CARTER HOUSE (PLASTER).

(b)



is the treatment of the rabbet which receives the door. This is always slightly more than a right angle on plan, and the door is cut on the bias to fit. The considerations that led to this were perhaps as much aesthetic as practical.

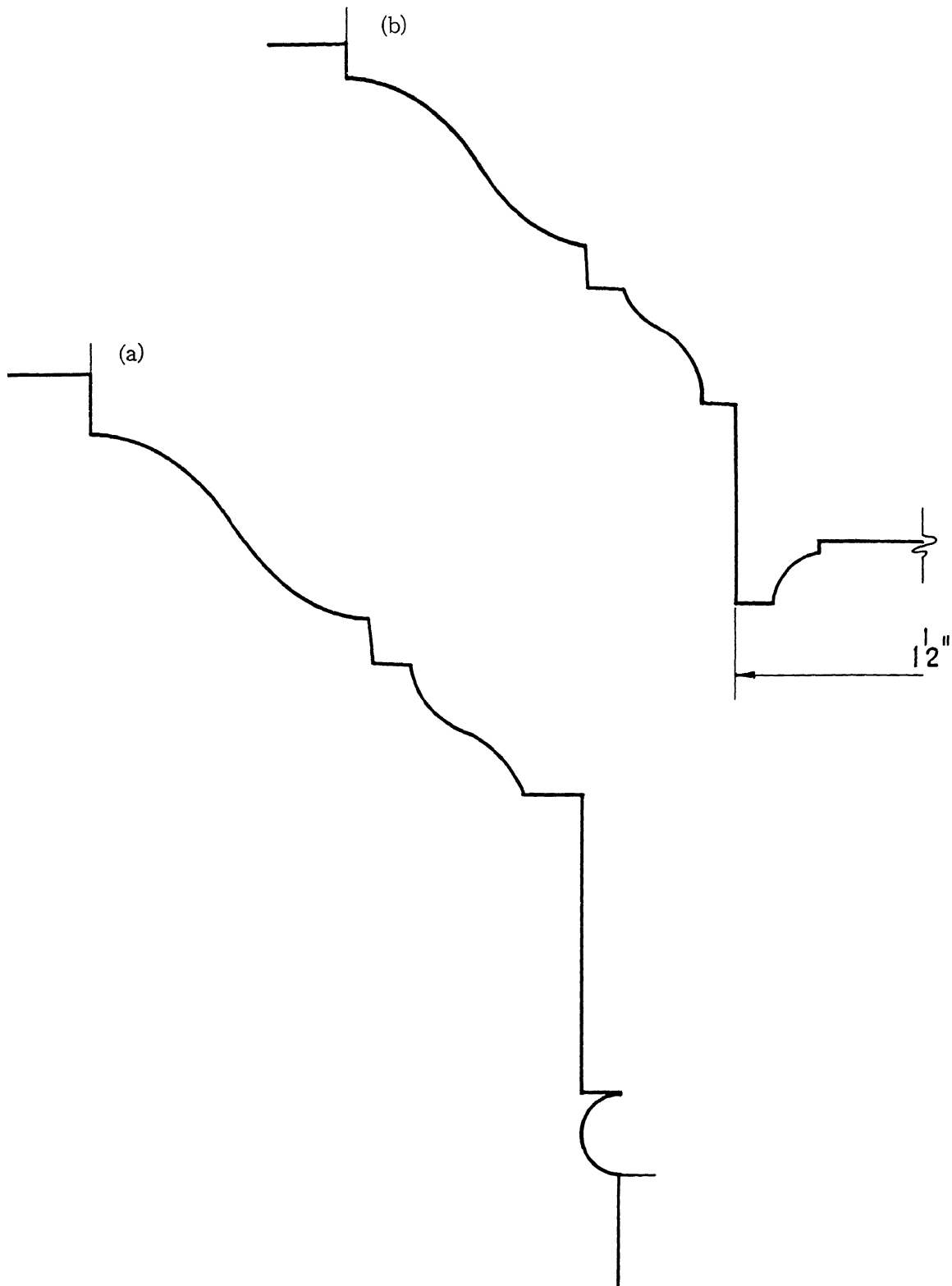
Interior doors were rarely more than $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. thick, even when paneled on both sides. The commonest type had six panels, reading from top to bottom: two small, two large, two large. In eight-panel doors the panels are usually arranged: two small, two large, two small, two large. More rarely—at Williamsburg in the central room of the Peyton Randolph House, for example—they are arranged: two small, two large, two large, two small. Four-panel doors were also much used; doors with two panels rather less, and mostly for cupboards. Where appearance was not of prime importance, batten doors continued in use throughout our period. Under the heads of the nails fastening the hinges to the door leather washers were used, as a cushion to take up the expansion and contraction of the wood of the door; the nails were customarily clinched on the side of the door away from the hinge, and hammered flush with the surface of the wood to permit a smooth paint job.

There are few completely paneled rooms in Williamsburg today, and it is unlikely that there were ever many. The interior wall trim of the smaller house consisted, characteristically, of baseboard, chair rail, and cornice. If one of these was omitted it was the cornice, while the next step towards full paneling was the provision of a wooden dado, when the chair rail became a dado cap. The accompanying drawings (*Figs. 31-34*) show typical specimens of these features, from both paneled and plastered rooms. One general observation may be made about the character of

eighteenth-century trim. We have already noticed the use of the obtuse angle in the rabbeting of the door frame; it will be found that cornice profiles show the same avoidance of the re-entrant right angle, though in this case it was the truly vertical face rather than the right angle that was consciously avoided. Similarly, there is a tendency to avoid the segment of the circle in both convex and concave moldings. (Half-rounds are slightly flattened, for example.) This is certainly not due to any technical deficiency on the part of the eighteenth-century craftsman, but to his dislike of mechanical effects—and to an eye for detail which our century, in its haste, so rarely develops.

On the upper floors the trim generally was simpler, the only feature not common to the rooms below being the narrow beaded boards that protect the angles on each side of the dormer openings in the half-story in the roof. Into the stairs by which the upper floors are reached went much of the constructive ingenuity and taste of the eighteenth-century carpenter and joiner. Here it will suffice to note that the closed-string stair was the commoner, as it was also the easier to construct. However, some fine stairs of the open-string type survive at Williamsburg—in the Brush-Everard, Wythe, and Tayloe Houses, to give examples. Stairs with an easy rise were the eighteenth-century ideal, and an ideal achieved at Williamsburg surprisingly often, even in modest houses like the George Reid House.

The handrail to the stairs (curved or “swooped” only with the open string) was often the only interior woodwork, apart from the floors and the treads of the stairs, that was not painted. On the subject of interior painting two generalizations may be made. First,



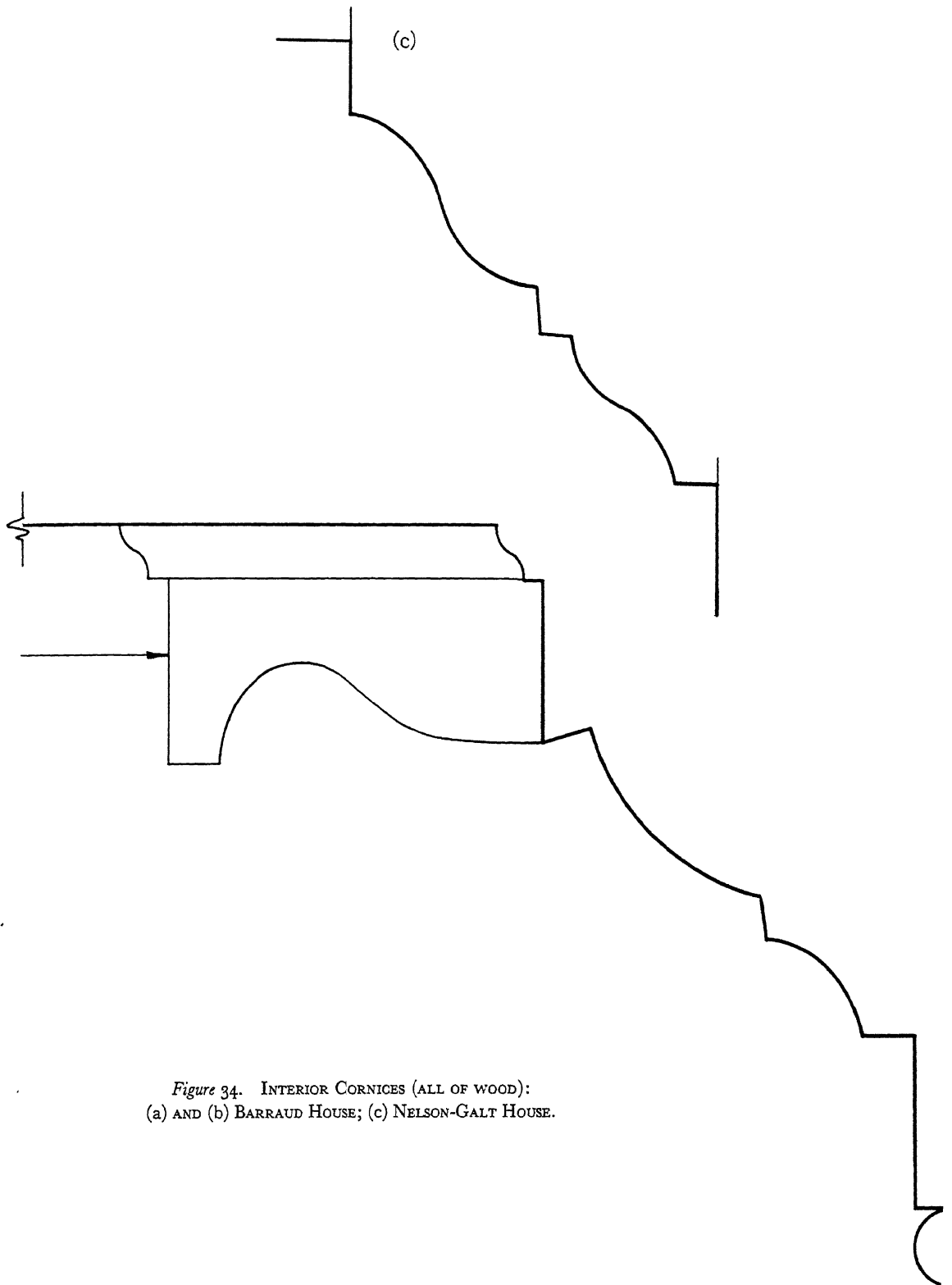


Figure 34. INTERIOR CORNICES (ALL OF WOOD):
(a) AND (b) BARRAUD HOUSE; (c) NELSON-GALT HOUSE.

white was used very little, and cream hardly at all. (The popular association of white and cream with colonial interiors is due to the fact that the initiators of the Colonial Revival at the end of the nineteenth century were in reaction against the dim and cavelike interiors of the preceding Brown Decades.) Secondly, the colors used were marked by a certain full-bodied quality and an absence of "glare," the latter being one of those things of which the eighteenth century's dislike was extreme and articulate. Both documentary evidence⁴² and modern experiments indicate that the use of lampblack had much to do with this.

PLASTER AND PAPER

When a house is built today, the internal trim is applied after the plasterers have done their work, the plastered surfaces being finished against strips of wood called plaster stops or grounds. In the eighteenth century, on the other hand, all the interior woodwork was in place before the plasterer came on the scene. Clearly this was the only convenient way of proceeding under a system of separate contracts with the different trades; for the carpenter or joiner to have to break off in the middle of his work to allow the plasterer to do his could only have led to trouble. What is important is that the procedure left its mark on the character of the eighteenth-century interior; for the plaster being stopped against the trim itself reduced the relief or salience of the latter, and tended to soften the transition between one material and the other.

In frame houses the plastering was done over hand-split laths nailed to the studs. In brick houses the plaster was laid directly on the brick walls. This helps to account for the condensation by which, as Jefferson tells us,⁴³

Virginians were so much troubled; it also accounts, in no small measure, for the complete disappearance of early wallpaper in brick houses. Sometimes (e.g., in the Wythe House) the backs of fireplaces were plastered, plaster being renewed so much more easily than brick.

The time-honored way of treating all plaster surfaces was to whitewash them, and walls and ceilings in Williamsburg houses were whitewashed over and over again, even after the introduction of wallpaper.⁴⁴ The latter commodity was apparently first imported into Virginia by George Washington, for use at Mount Vernon, in 1757.⁴⁵ It seems to have reached Williamsburg in the mid 'sixties. In 1766 William Siddall, bookbinder and paperhanger from London, announces in the *Virginia Gazette* "that he proposed carrying on his Business opposite the Rawleigh Tavern in *Williamsburg* . . . and that he hangs Paper genteel and secure on reasonable terms,"⁴⁶ and in the following year an advertisement of a house for sale states that it is "elegantly papered."⁴⁷ In the early 'seventies there was wallpaper in the Palace,⁴⁸ and in 1777 John Baker, surgeon dentist, advertised for sale his "valuable House . . . on the Market Square in this City, with 4 handsome Rooms below neatly papered."⁴⁹ Fragments of three papers only have been found in Williamsburg—two in the Brush-Everard House and one in the Nicolson Shop—but that a wide variety was available, and doubtless used, is evidenced by Benjamin Bucktrout's advertisement in 1771:

A NEAT and ELEGANT ASSORTMENT of PAPER HANGINGS, of various Kinds, and of the newest Fashions, for Staircases, Rooms, and Ceilings; namely, embossed, Stucco, Chintz,

striped, Mosaick, Damask and common. . . .⁵⁰

It will be remarked that ceilings, as well as walls, were papered.

CONCLUSION

How, after what has been said in this chapter and the one before it, can we characterize the domestic architecture of eighteenth-century Williamsburg? The first thing to be said is that its ancestry was English, and that it remained English to the extent that no one could suppose for a moment that its ancestry was French or German or Dutch or anything but English. Moreover, such stylistic innovation as there was in the course of the century all followed English modes.

None of the brick houses of Williamsburg would look out of place in an English country town, even though in their planning and in certain matters of detail they show the effects of local or regional conditions. With the frame houses the case is rather different. In eighteenth-century England there still was a certain amount of building in timber. But even in the eastern and southeastern counties, where there was most, it was pretty well confined to utilitarian structures, such as mills and barns, and to houses of no great architectural pretensions—to cottages and to the lesser farmhouses; where style was a consideration, brick was preferred. Not so in Virginia. Here there was a definite sentiment in favor of frame houses, as Jefferson tells us, and this could lead, quite late in the century, to the execution in timber of such highly sophisticated designs as the Semple House, the result in that case being a building which is quite unimaginable in England. At the same time, as Hugh Jones tells us, the Vir-

ginians of the colonial decades regarded themselves as Londoners; so if it was convenient or necessary, as it often was, that their dwellings in Williamsburg should be cottages, then they had to be cottages worthy of Londoners. In consequence, as all the evidence goes to show, there was a remarkable consistency in both the kind and the quality of the detail of houses in Williamsburg, whatever their size. The smallest were finished with a care and a regard for classical propriety in such features as the eaves cornice which speak of a very general insistence upon the things that were held to constitute style, or stylishness, and which it would be difficult to parallel in similar buildings in England.

Elaboration, on the other hand, was eschewed. No doubt this was partly because the life of a frame house was reckoned at no more than fifty years. But the generalization is true of brick houses too, and the main reason must have been that the wealthy planter who had a house in Williamsburg in addition to his plantation home thought of it as the nobleman or landed gentleman in England thought of his London house—as a secondary dwelling for use during relatively short periods each year. As for the tradesman, it was as unthinkable for him as it was for his London cousin that he should seem to try to set himself up above the gentry by architectural ostentation.⁵¹


We need not be surprised if we find a high degree of standardization in the design of the eighteenth-century houses of Williamsburg, or of Virginia. The eighteenth century was an age that built according to the rules—the rules handed down in the shops of the various crafts, and the rules set down in the books on architecture. (Which is not to say that the two categories did not overlap, for

shop rules were the staple of the authors of many handbooks, and book rules doubtless became the rote-learned formulae of the shops.) But the rules were felt to provide a discipline, not a straitjacket; and always the final appeal, in any disputed question of de-

sign, was to the eye. And so there is plenty of variety within the accepted limits—as the reader's eye may see for itself in the pictorial survey of the eighteenth-century houses of Williamsburg that forms the second part of this book.

Part II

A Pictorial Survey

N THE FOLLOWING PAGES the eighteenth-century houses and shops in the restored area of Williamsburg are illustrated and discussed one by one. The order is approximately chronological, although lack of data in some cases, and in others the acquisition of data—or properties—since this book first appeared, render the sequence here either uncertain or imperfect. Where buildings are of more than one period, their place in the sequence has been determined by their character as a whole. Thus, for example, the John Blair House, where the addition made perhaps half a century after the building of the first portion is scarcely distinguishable in style, is treated near the beginning, while the Taliaferro-Cole House, which was given its present form between 1815 and 1830, comes at the end. The Taliaferro-Cole House owes its place in the book to the fact that an inte-

gral part of it dates from the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Houses of nineteenth-century date throughout, such as the Norton-Cole House, and nineteenth-century additions to eighteenth-century houses, such as the eastern sections of the Coke-Garrett House, are not discussed.

The notes on the history and architecture of each house are followed by a paragraph headed "Condition." This gives the date of the restoration of the building, together with some indication of the nature and extent of the work then undertaken. It is far from being a complete description of what was done, still less an account of the methods employed. Its purpose is—to put it bluntly—to give the spectator some idea of what he is looking at. The plans show interiors in their original state; they do not show modifications that have been made in the interests of present-day convenience.



Figure 35. THE NELSON-GALT HOUSE. South front.

THE NELSON-GALT HOUSE

The two lots nearest the Capitol on the south side of Duke of Gloucester Street were granted to William Robertson, clerk of the Council, in 1707.¹ The deed contains the usual building clause, and later deeds recording Robertson's sale of parts of the lots,² including most of the Duke of Gloucester Street and Blair Street frontages, make it fairly certain that this was the house that he built in the twenty-four months following his acquisition of the site.

To "hold" two lots adjoining Duke of Gloucester Street a frame house with a brick cellar and two brick chimneys had to be 40 ft.

long and 20 ft. broad. As it stands, this house is 20 ft. broad and 48 ft. long and this complies with the law with 8 ft. to spare. There is some evidence in the framing, however, that the house was lengthened at each end at one time—perhaps during construction as an afterthought—and that as originally planned it had outside chimneys, in conformity with most of the story-and-a-half houses in Williamsburg.

The four chimney closets (each of which has its own small window, while the north-western one contains a secondary fireplace

of uncertain purpose) give the house an unusual plan. Unorthodox too is the placing of the stair in a separate compartment off the north end of the central passage. The partition framing and the narrowness of the passage—it is only 5 ft. wide—suggest that the space for both stairs and passage was taken out of the east room: that is to say, that in the house as first built the east room was a hall of the old, medieval form, entered directly from outdoors on either side at the “lower” end. A notable feature of this room is the paneled mantel, while the west room has a paneled dado and a stone chimney piece restored from fragments which were found embedded face-down in the hearth.



Figure 36.
THE NELSON-GALT HOUSE BEFORE RESTORATION.



Figure 37. THE NELSON-GALT HOUSE.
The east room.

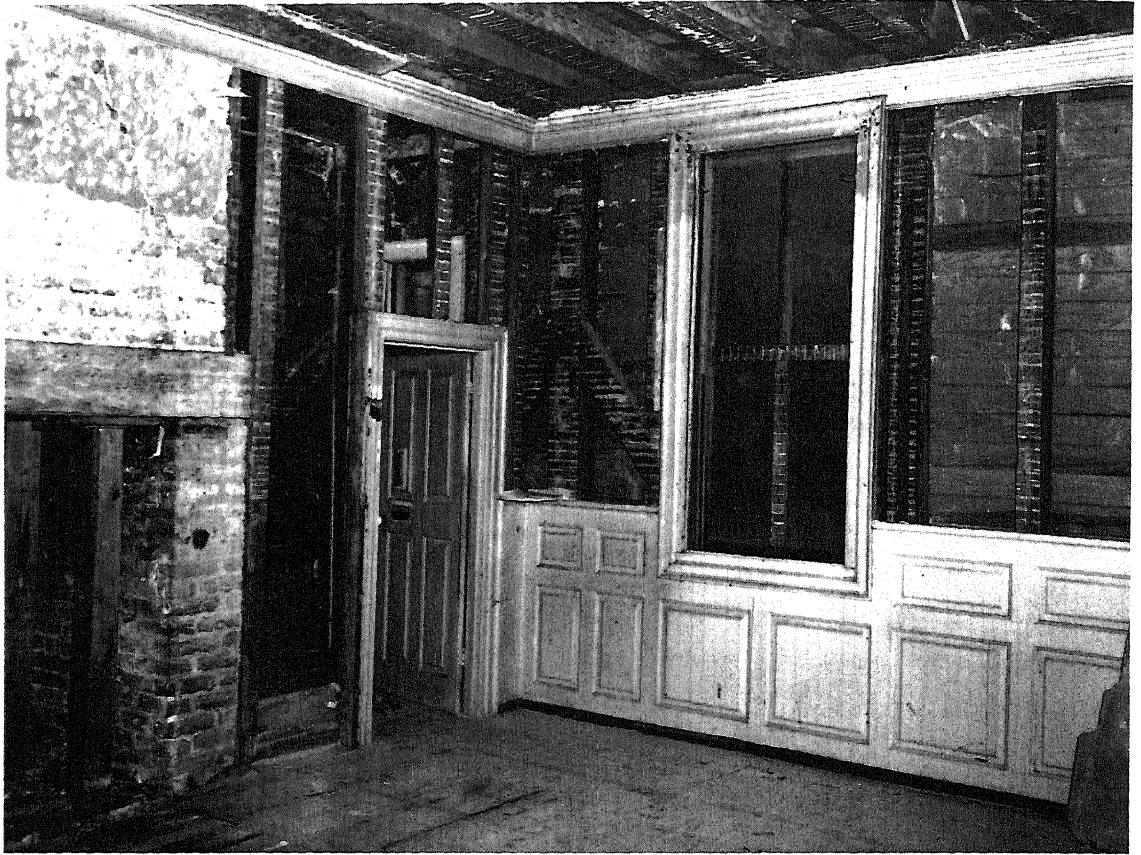


Figure 38. THE NELSON-GALT HOUSE.

The west room stripped of plaster, showing the framing.

The grouping of the windows and the variation in their size give the street front a certain formality which is affected little by the inequality in the spacing of the hip-roofed dormers. Whether its uncommon features should be regarded as the result of alterations or as signs that when it was built the type was not yet standardized, the Nelson-Galt House is one of the most interesting and most attractive of the smaller houses of Williamsburg, as well as being one of the oldest.

CONDITION

The Nelson-Galt House was restored in 1951-1952. The basement wall and the east chim-

ney had to be rebuilt and the frame was reinforced where necessary. Late door hoods were replaced with new ones of eighteenth-century character; the one over the south door rests on the original brackets, while the design of the one to the north was based on evidence found in the framing. Generally the house had been little altered since the eighteenth century, and the program was one of repairs rather than of restoration in any more radical sense. Among the rarer survivals were two pairs of eighteenth-century shutters (on the west pair of large windows on the north side) and eighteenth-century grilles in all four of the basement windows.

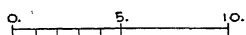


Figure 39. THE NELSON-GALT HOUSE.
South elevation.

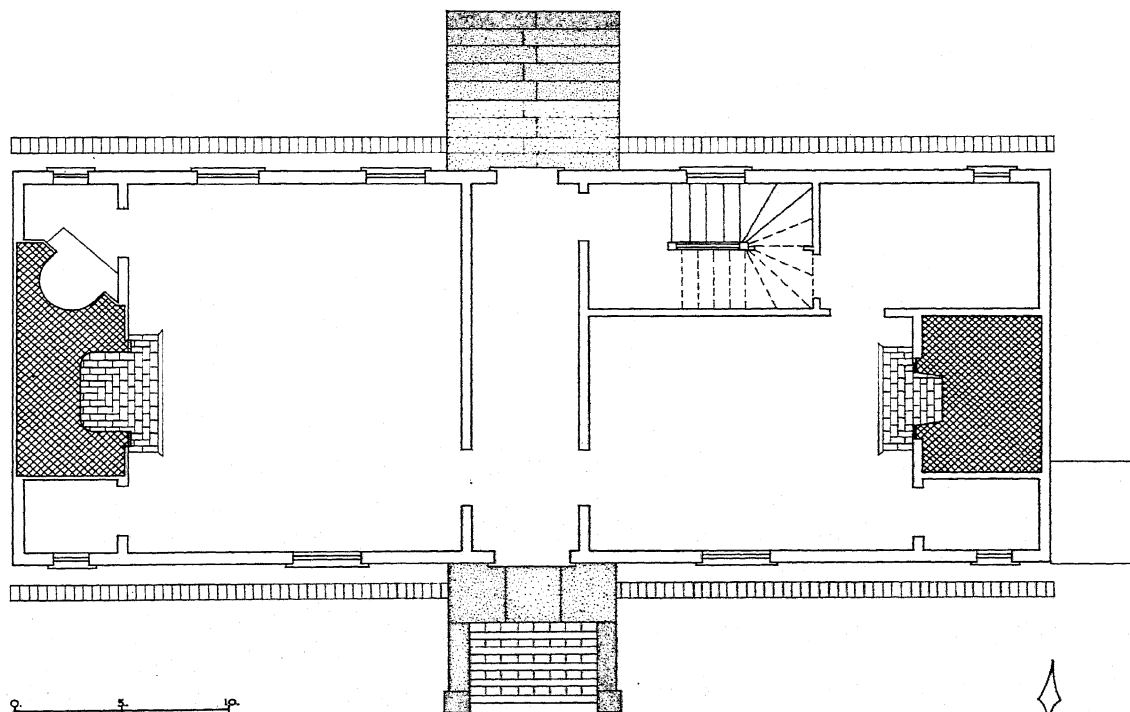


Figure 40. THE NELSON-GALT HOUSE. Plan.



Figure 41. THE JOHN BLAIR HOUSE FROM DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

THE JOHN BLAIR HOUSE

This house takes its name from a late-eighteenth-century owner, and the first whose name we know, John Blair, Jr. But it is in part one of the oldest houses in Williamsburg.

As first built early in the eighteenth century the house was a typical hall-passage-parlor story-and-a-half dwelling, 36 ft. by 18 ft. on plan, with end chimneys and—most probably—a lean-to or shed, 9 ft. deep, behind. The evidence for believing that the shed is coeval with the oldest part of the structure is in the framing of the roof, which has a 2 ft.

4 in. jut or overhang to the rear. From this it would seem that the plan was altered after construction had begun—as the inequality of the foundation walls (that on the street front being 1 ft. 10 in. thick while the others are a more usual 1 ft. 1 in.) also suggests.

Later, probably in the third quarter of the century, the house was lengthened 28 ft. to the west. The west chimney was enlarged, a second staircase was built, and a second street door was inserted. The stone steps were added in the same period; it used to be said

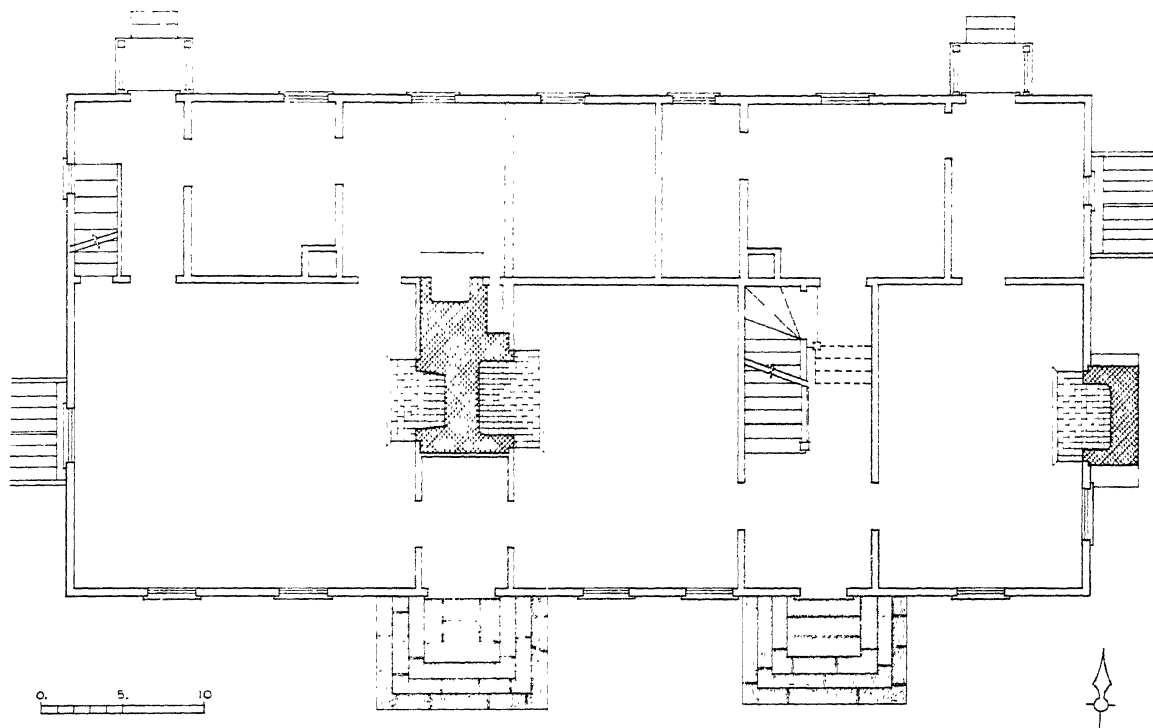


Figure 42. THE JOHN BLAIR HOUSE. Plan.

in the town that they came from the Palace Street playhouse.¹

Features to note outside are the doorways with their transom lights—a necessary device where, as here, there are no windows to light the entry—and the early type of dormer, with hipped roof. Accounts of the bricklayer and plasterer, Humphrey Harwood, for work done in the years 1789-1791 mention a marble mantelpiece, which is still in the west room, and tell us that one of the rooms was called the library.²

CONDITION

In outward appearance the John Blair House had changed less than most between the eighteenth century and its acquisition by Colonial Williamsburg. The south dormers

were restored to their original form, after an unaltered dormer on the north side. The west street door is eighteenth-century and original to the building, and served as model for the east one. Shutters, corner boards, and eaves cornice date from the restoration. Some of the frame of the house was renewed in the restoration, the west chimney rebuilt, and most of the present interior trim installed; the east stair, however, is largely original, and most of the floors are old. The partitions were altered and partly rebuilt in 1923, when the house belonged to the College of William and Mary and was used as a sorority house; the old partitions were of poplar with an infilling of 4-inch brick nogging, some of which, together with some oak clapboards of the west wall of the house in its first form, is preserved *in situ*.



Figure 43. THE PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE FROM MARKET SQUARE.

THE PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE

This house was built in three sections, as its plan reveals. The earliest was the western part, a square house of two stories with a central chimney serving all the fireplaces on both floors, built in 1715 or 1716.¹ By 1724 a smaller story-and-a-half house, represented by the present easternmost section, which is a reconstruction, stood upon the neighboring lot; within a few years these two houses, having come into common ownership, were linked by the two-story middle section, care being taken to preserve symmetry about the new front door in the south front. The easternmost section may have been removed by 1783. In that year the house was described as having "four rooms on a floor."²

The western section, which was built by William Robertson, clerk of the Council from 1701 until 1739, has an unusual plan and some unusual external features. Noticeable among the latter is the two-story porch, with its "porch chamber," on the north side. The present porch is a reconstruction, but conclusive proof of the existence of such a feature in the eighteenth century was found in the framing and trim of the north wall and in the ground adjoining it.³ As remarked earlier in these pages, two-story porches seem to have been quite common in Virginia in the seventeenth century. This was a late example, and the law which fixed the street building lines in Williamsburg pushed it round to the north



Figure 44. THE PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE FROM THE NORTH.

side of the house. Another unusual feature is the belt board at upper floor level, which is continued along the central section of the house; it has no structural purpose but is imitative of the belt course of a brick house⁴. The western and central sections of the house are covered by a continuous roof, hipped to the west and gabled to the east. As first built, however, the western section had a roof hipped at the four corners with a hollow center containing a secondary W-form roof; the two valleys of the latter drained into a large wooden gutter, which was probably connected with an indoor cistern. At an early date this secondary roof was covered in, to be found still in place in the attic when the house was restored.

Inside, the Peyton Randolph House is dis-

tinguished by having the best series of original paneled rooms in Williamsburg. On the ground floor there are four, while the central stair hall is also paneled, and on the upper floor there are three. In all but one of these rooms the paneling is of yellow pine, as was usual; but the northeast room on the upper floor in the western section of the house is completely paneled in oak. In the ground-floor room of the central section the doors, sash and window trim are of walnut, and there is a simple yet handsome mantelpiece of grey-veined marble. This mantel, and all the original paneling, must date from the first half of the eighteenth century. Perhaps they were installed during the period 1724-1737, when the owner of the house was Sir John Randolph, who in the course of an active

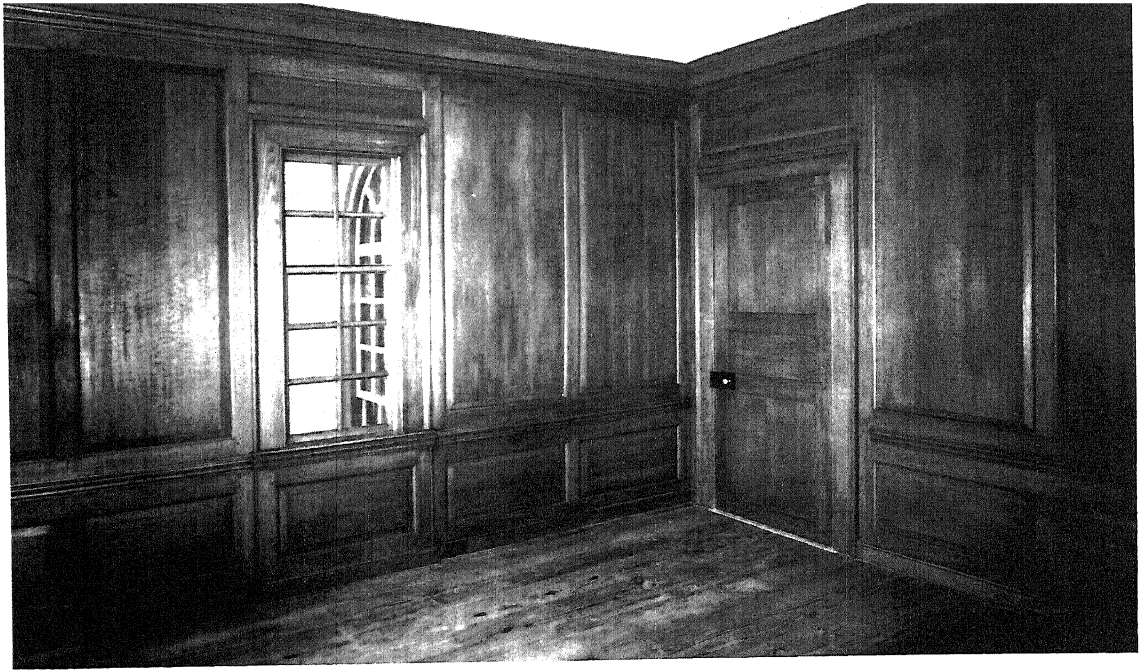


Figure 45. THE PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE.
The oak room.



Figure 46. THE PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE.
East end of central room, showing marble mantel and doors and window trim of walnut.

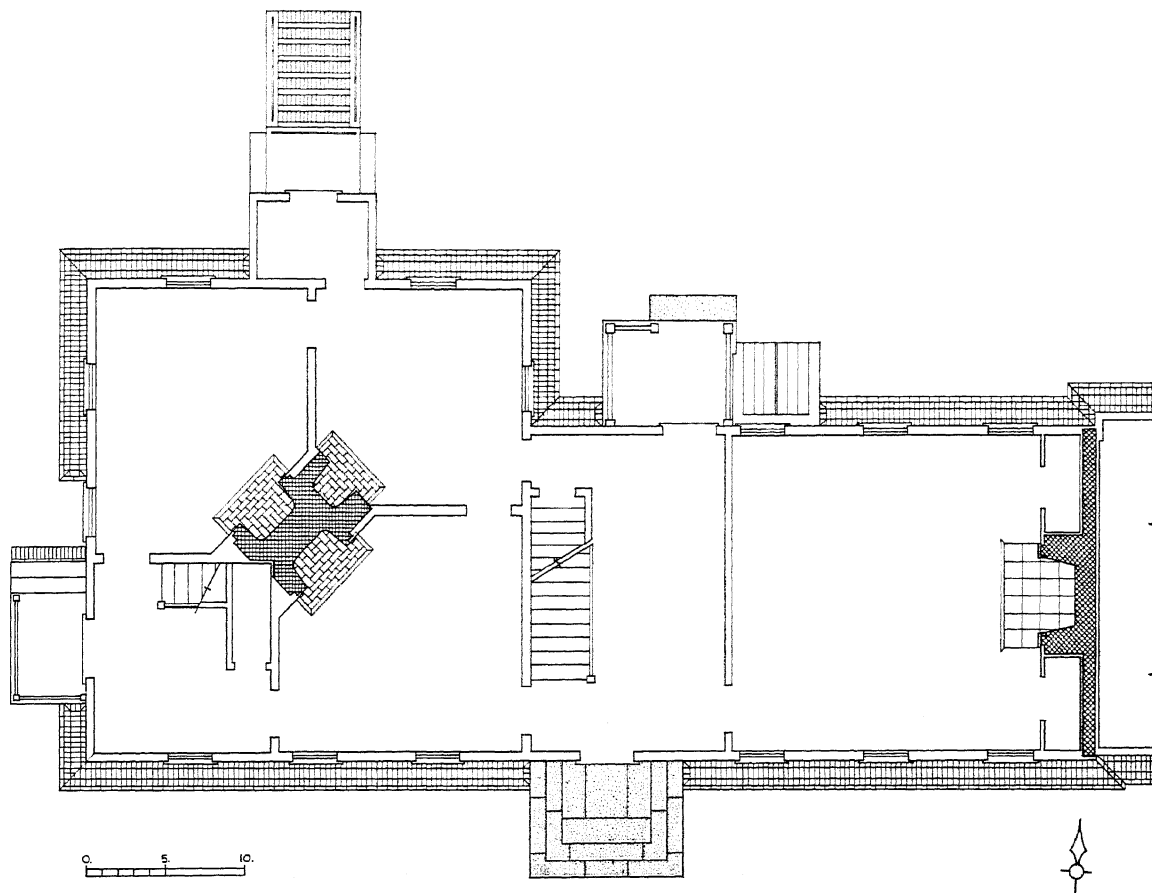


Figure 47. THE PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE.
Plan of original parts of house.

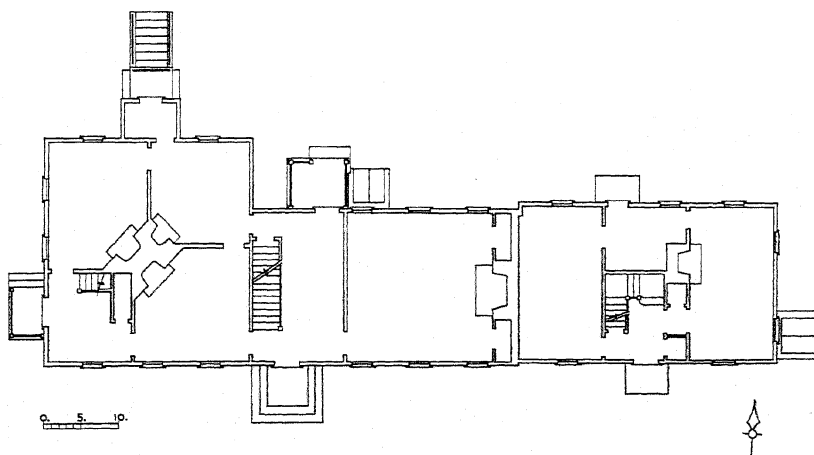


Figure 48. THE PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE.
Plan of whole of present house, including
reconstructed east portion.

public life served as clerk of the House of Burgesses and attorney general, speaker and treasurer of the colony. Sir John's son, Peyton, speaker of the House of Burgesses in 1766-1775 and president of the Continental Congress in 1774, lived in the house from 1745 until his death in 1775.

CONDITION

The house was partially restored in 1939-1940, when a north wing of recent date was removed; restoration was completed in 1968. As noted above, the two-story porch of the western section and the whole of the easternmost section of the house are reconstructions. The latter does not pretend to reproduce the eighteenth-century arrangements internally, but was planned for modern convenience. The framing of the old parts of the house was found to be original and generally sound, and was retained, with necessary repairs only.

The chimney of the western section, which had been rebuilt in 1920, was restored to its original form. The cornice on the west and south fronts is original, as is also the belt board at upper-floor level; some few of the weatherboards are old. The sash of the first floor windows to the west dates from the first half of the eighteenth century and was taken as model for necessary replacement elsewhere. Outside doors date from the restoration, and so do the north porch and south door hood of the central section; evidence of the existence of the latter feature in the eighteenth century was found in the framing. Flooring in the house is old and original. So are some of the inside doors and most of the paneling, the principal exceptions being the paneling on the diagonal (or chimney) walls in the western section, where the mantels are also replacements made at the time of the restoration.



Figure 49. THE ARCHIBALD BLAIR HOUSE FROM NICHOLSON STREET.

THE ARCHIBALD BLAIR HOUSE

DR. ARCHIBALD BLAIR acquired the lot on Nicholson Street just west of England Street in 1716.¹ Inasmuch as the lot did not revert to the grantors, he presumably built a house on it within the next two years.² The present house, however, is a later structure, built probably in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

Of proportions determined by a geometrical system (as has been shown earlier in these pages), it is a simple but satisfying building. The main house is two rooms deep, with four rooms on each floor and a central passage containing the stair. As in the contemporaneous part of the Peyton Randolph House on the opposite side of England Street,

the fireplace is set diagonally across one corner in each room. In England this arrangement was common in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, but Palladian ideals of symmetry led to its being given up in the eighteenth. In Virginia it is found in many of the major houses of the first half of the eighteenth century, and remained a commonplace of the minor ones to the end of the colonial period. The neat porch with its Doric columns and pediment is of early-nineteenth-century date. It was retained when the house was restored, on account of its intrinsic merit and because it belongs to the classical continuation of the eighteenth-century tradition.

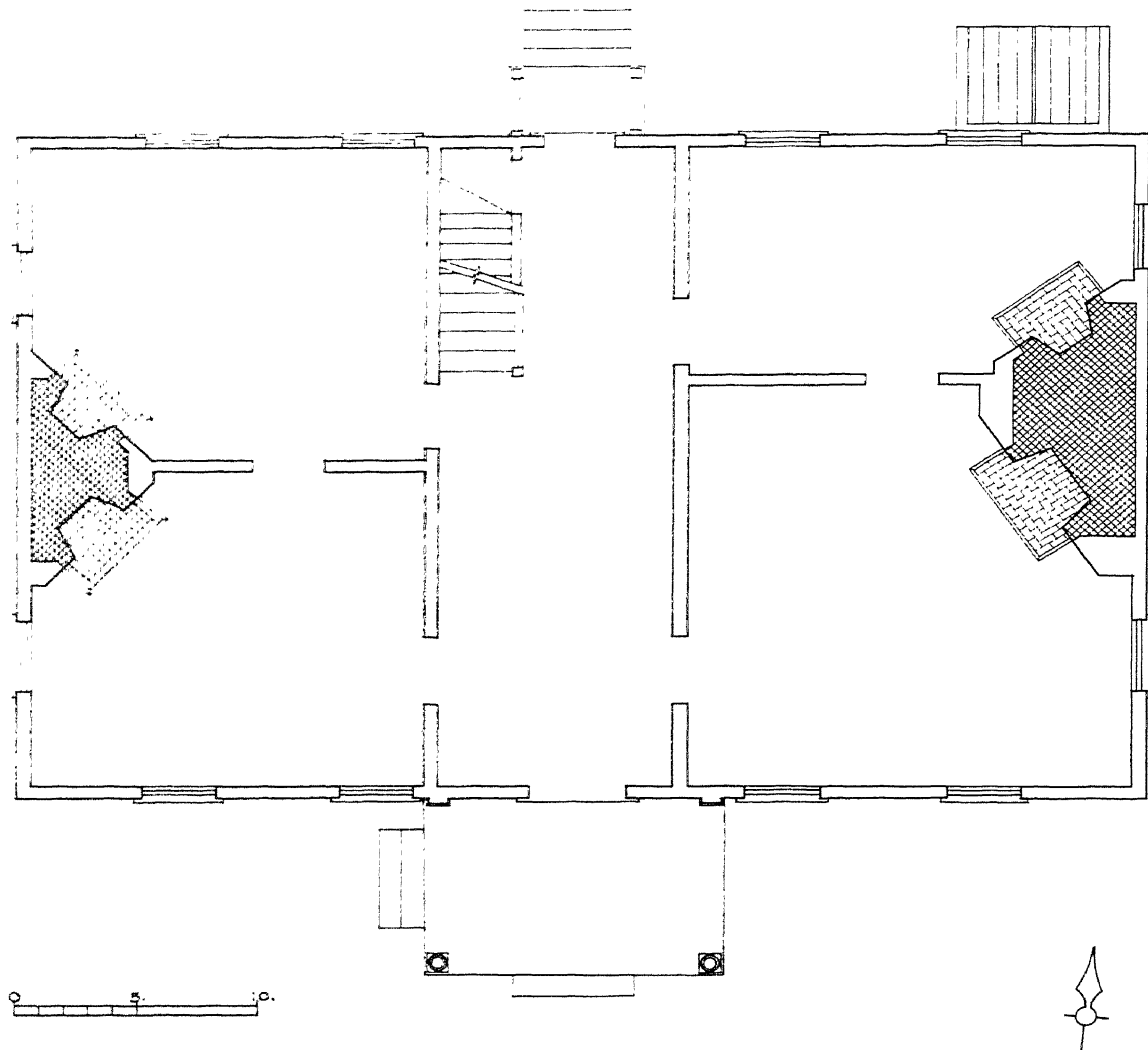


Figure 50. THE ARCHIBALD BLAIR HOUSE. Plan.

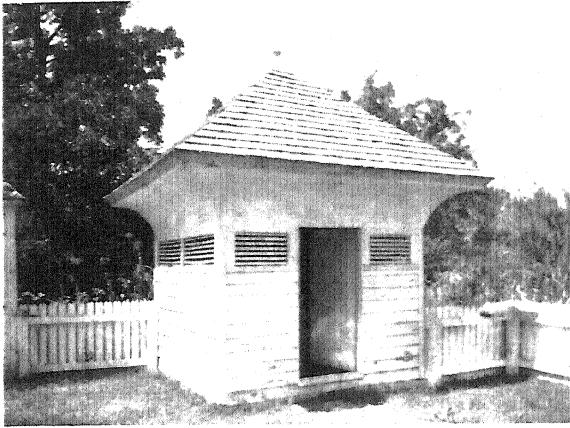


Figure 51. THE ARCHIBALD BLAIR HOUSE.
The dairy.

The outbuildings include two of eighteenth-century date, a pyramidally roofed smokehouse and a dairy with a deep plaster cove under the eaves. The brick kitchen, whose pink walls provide a welcome note of variety in this corner of Williamsburg, was built between 1815 and 1823.³

CONDITION

The house and outbuildings were restored in 1930-1931. The house had been a good deal altered since the eighteenth century. The chimneys had been rebuilt; the original stair had gone and a new stair had been built in



Figure 52. THE ARCHIBALD BLAIR HOUSE.
The dairy before restoration.

the northeast corner of the house; the windows had been equipped with Gothic sash. But the frame, and the framing of the roof, had survived unaltered. Of the exterior trim the lower members of the cornice on the south front and the rake boards and corner boards of the main house were, and are, old—as are the weatherboards on the south front and the west end. No eighteenth-century trim survived indoors. The framing, weatherboarding and door of the smokehouse are original; its cornice is a copy of the original, which remained but was in very bad condition. The structure of the dairy is original. It was repaired, and the plaster cove was renewed.



Figure 53. THE JAMES GEDDY HOUSE AND SILVERSMITH SHOP FROM DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

THE JAMES GEDDY HOUSE AND SILVERSMITH SHOP

The lot on the corner of Duke of Gloucester and Palace Streets was granted to one Samuel Cobbs in 1716.¹ The deed contained the usual building clause, and it is clear that Cobbs fulfilled his obligations; not only did the lot not escheat to the city, but when Cobbs conveyed it to the next owner, in 1719, the consideration was forty pounds current instead of the thirty shillings he had paid for it.²

James Geddy, gunsmith, had acquired the property by 1738, living and carrying

on his trade there until his death six years later. Ownership passed to his widow, who built, in 1750 or thereabouts, the present two-story house and its attached one-and-a-half story extension to the east. The second and still more easterly addition, its gable end facing Duke of Gloucester Street, was completed in 1760 when Mrs. Geddy sold the property to her son James Geddy, Jr., silversmith.³ He continued as owner and occupant until 1778, renting out the easternmost addition as a separate shop.⁴

The L plan of the old part of the house is unorthodox and presumably the result of an attempt to utilize the advantages of the corner site. Its low-pitched roof, without dormers, relates it to the Archibald Blair and Peyton Randolph Houses, with which, as we have seen, it may be contemporary. An internal feature of special interest is the stairs, which at landing level have a turned newel post that goes up all the way to the ceiling; this peculiarity seems to be a throwback to the scheme from which the English open well stairs evolved.⁵ The mantel in the southwest room on the ground floor is a case of a feature in which the form triumphs over the material in a way of which Isaac Ware would have approved. It is of wood, but its moldings have a character more natural to, more often found in, and here no doubt purposely imitative of, marble.

CONDITION

The Geddy House, which is the only eighteenth-century structure on the site, was restored partially in 1930 and fully in 1968. The porch and front door are new, and the chimneys were rebuilt above the ridge of the roof; otherwise the two street elevations of the two-story part of the house are practically all original, or at least old. On the rear elevations some window frames and sash, some shutters, and all weatherboards were renewed. Inside, all doors, floors, mantels, wooden trim, and the stairs are original, with repairs of a minor nature; hinges are old throughout, but most of the other door furniture had disappeared and was replaced with modern reproductions. The story-and-a-half east extensions, having disappeared completely or in large part, are reconstructions on the original foundations.



Figure 54. THE BRUSH-EVERARD HOUSE FROM PALACE GREEN.

THE BRUSH-EVERARD HOUSE

John Brush was a gunsmith who bought the two lots on which this house stands from the trustees of the city of Williamsburg in 1717;¹ Thomas Everard, clerk of York County from 1745 until his death in 1784 and mayor of Williamsburg in 1766, owned the property in the 1770's.² Since Brush was granted the lots with the usual stipulation that he should build a dwelling house upon them within two years, since he still owned them at his death in 1726, and since there are no other founda-

tions on the street building line, the front part of the Brush-Everard House (which measures 20 ft. by 44 ft. on plan) must date from 1717-1719 and so be one of the earliest houses in Williamsburg.

The plan of this part also suggests an early date. The chimneys, instead of standing against the end walls as in the great majority of story-and-a-half houses in Virginia, are on the back elevation—as in certain seventeenth-century houses at Jamestown whose founda-

Figure 55. THE BRUSH-EVERARD HOUSE
BEFORE RESTORATION.



Figure 56. THE BRUSH-EVERARD HOUSE.
The stairs (before restoration).

tions have been excavated. An unusual detail of the exterior, which is possibly but not necessarily of chronological significance, is the sheathing of the cheeks of the dormers with horizontal boards instead of boards following the slope of the main roof.³

Brush was far from being a rich man, to judge from the inventory of his personal estate, and one should probably picture the house in his day as a hall-and-parlor dwelling of the simplest type, conceivably with the front door leading directly into the hall with-

out any passage and the stair to the loft rising directly out of it, and with plastered walls whitewashed from floor to ceiling.⁴ When the house was equipped with the woodwork that makes its interior one of the richest in that respect in the town is a matter for speculation. The character of this woodwork suggests a date in the second quarter of the century, and tempts one to suppose that it was installed during the ownership of the house by Henry Cary, Jr., the builder of the President's House at William and Mary. Of Cary's own-

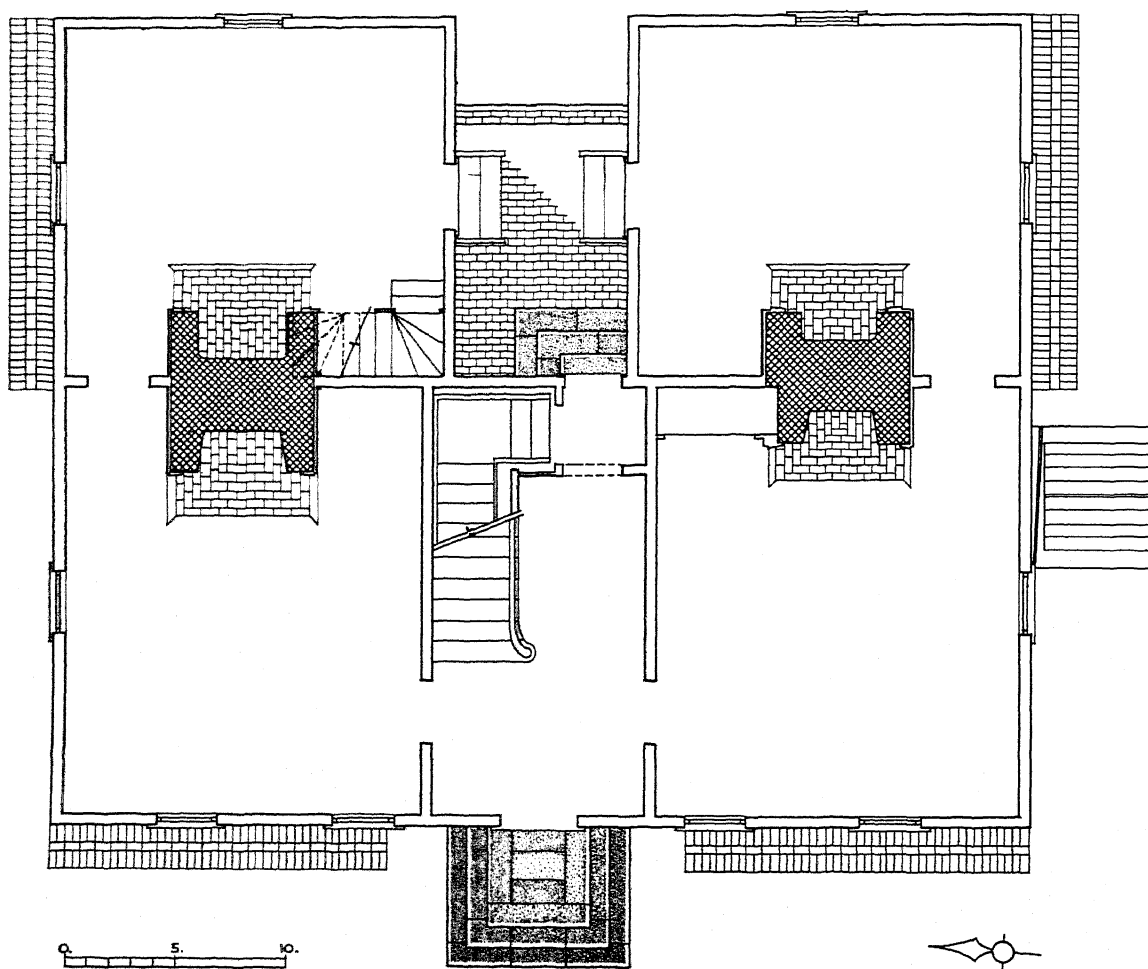


Figure 57. THE BRUSH-EVERARD HOUSE. Plan.

ership we know only that it ended in 1742, when he sold the house to William Dering, a dancing master.⁵ The stair and the paneled dado that accompanies it are specially noteworthy; the stair for its easy rise and the foliated brackets at the ends of the treads—a feature found at Tuckahoe and Carter's Grove, for instance, but surprising, to say the least, in a house of this size—and the dado for the undulatory treatment of its capping on the two landings and the intermediate flight. Unusual too are the frames of the doors to the north and south rooms on the ground floor, which are eared or lugged at both top and bottom. These rooms have paneled dados surmounted by an unusually massive chair rail instead of the customary dado cap—a peculiarity which indicates that the chair rail was there first; they also have wooden ceiling cornices and mantels. Certain peculiarities in the fitting of the woodwork suggest that Cary, or whoever it was that installed it, may have taken it from another house.

The addition of wings to the rear, which must have been considerably facilitated by the unorthodox placing of the chimneys of the original house, may have been due to Thomas Everard; but there is no conclusive evidence. The south wing as it stands today is entirely a reconstruction, upon old foundations identical to and contemporary with those of the north wing; excavation revealed that there had been an even earlier south wing than the one reconstructed, evidently with a cellar.

The Frenchman's Map⁶ shows that the Brush-Everard House had quite an array of

outhouses. The only ones of which anything survived above ground were the smokehouse and the kitchen.

CONDITION

As noted above, the south wing is entirely a reconstruction, as is also that half of the south chimney which serves it. The west part of the house rests upon the original brick foundation walls, which have been strengthened and underpinned with concrete; the foundations of the north wing are new. The frame of the west part of the house and that of the north wing are original, strengthened with steel when the house was restored. The roof framing is also old. Weatherboarding is new throughout; the exceptionally wide (7 in.) exposure of the boards on the western portion was based upon the discovery, in a protected position just below the cornice, of an old piece of weatherboarding which had this exposure. The cornice had to be largely renewed. Ground floor window sash on the west front and at the north end of the west part of the house is old. Dormer sash is new, copied from old sash which fitted the dormers found in the basement. Shutters with one exception are new; they were copied from an old shutter, which fitted the ground floor windows exactly, found in use as a door in the old kitchen behind the house and re-used for the south window of the west front. Most of the interior woodwork in the parts of the house that had survived, including doors and all floors as well as the features discussed above, is original.



Figure 58. THE GEORGE REID HOUSE FROM DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

THE GEORGE REID HOUSE

This is a late example of a house of the hall-passage-parlor type in which axial symmetry is modified. The passage is in the exact center, but the disposition of the chimneys—one inside, the other outside the end wall—results in the room to the west, the hall, being 4 ft. longer than that to the east; and the west room has two windows on each side, as against the east room's one.¹ Nor are the end elevations symmetrical, for the roof has a 2 ft. overhang to the rear.

The house was built between 1789 and 1792, but documentary records about it and about George Reid, its builder, are by no means as full as one could wish. Of Reid

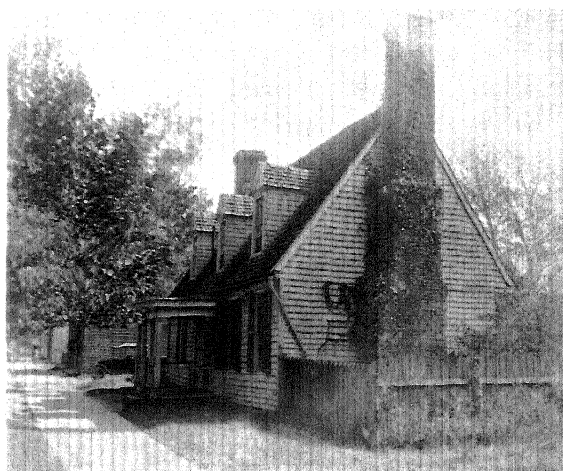


Figure 59. THE GEORGE REID HOUSE
BEFORE RESTORATION

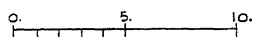


Figure 60. THE GEORGE REID HOUSE.
North elevation.

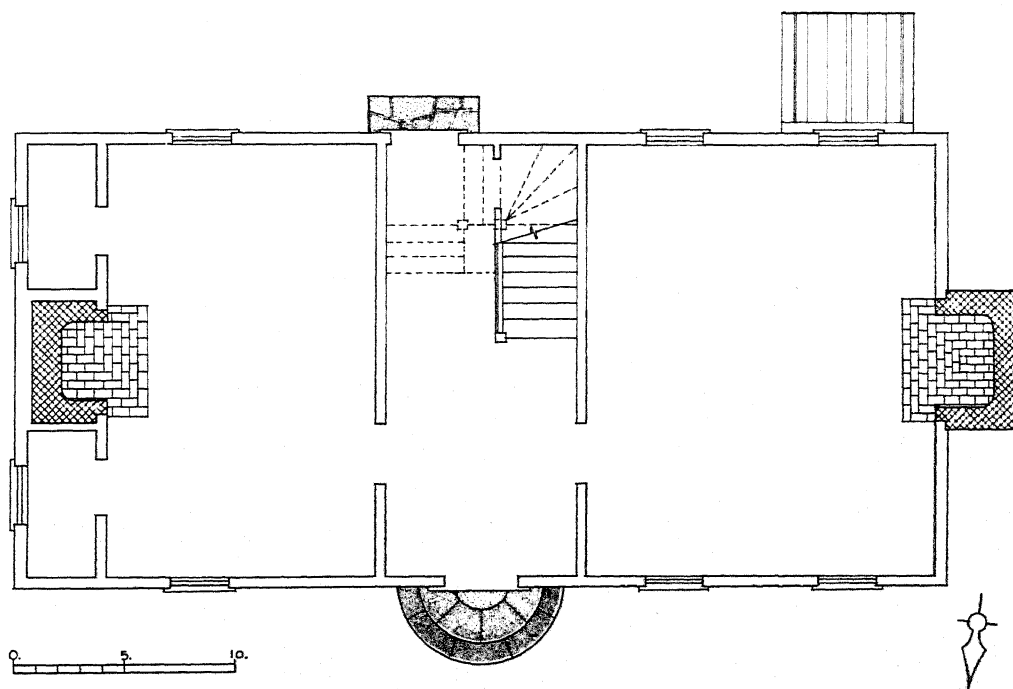


Figure 61. THE GEORGE REID HOUSE. Plan.

we know only that he was a successful merchant in Williamsburg and that in 1775 he was elected secretary of the local Society of Freemasons and ensign in the militia.²

CONDITION

The house was restored in 1930-1931. Whereas, in many of the eighteenth-century houses of Williamsburg, restoration has entailed the replacement of work of subsequent periods

with reproductions of that original to the house, in others it has entailed the repair and replacement of work that was original but in too poor a condition for retention. The George Reid House is one of the prime examples of the latter class. Enough of everything had survived to ensure accuracy in the restoration, but in a condition that demanded extensive replacement of most visible parts, while the framing was so largely rotten that the whole had to be taken apart and rebuilt.

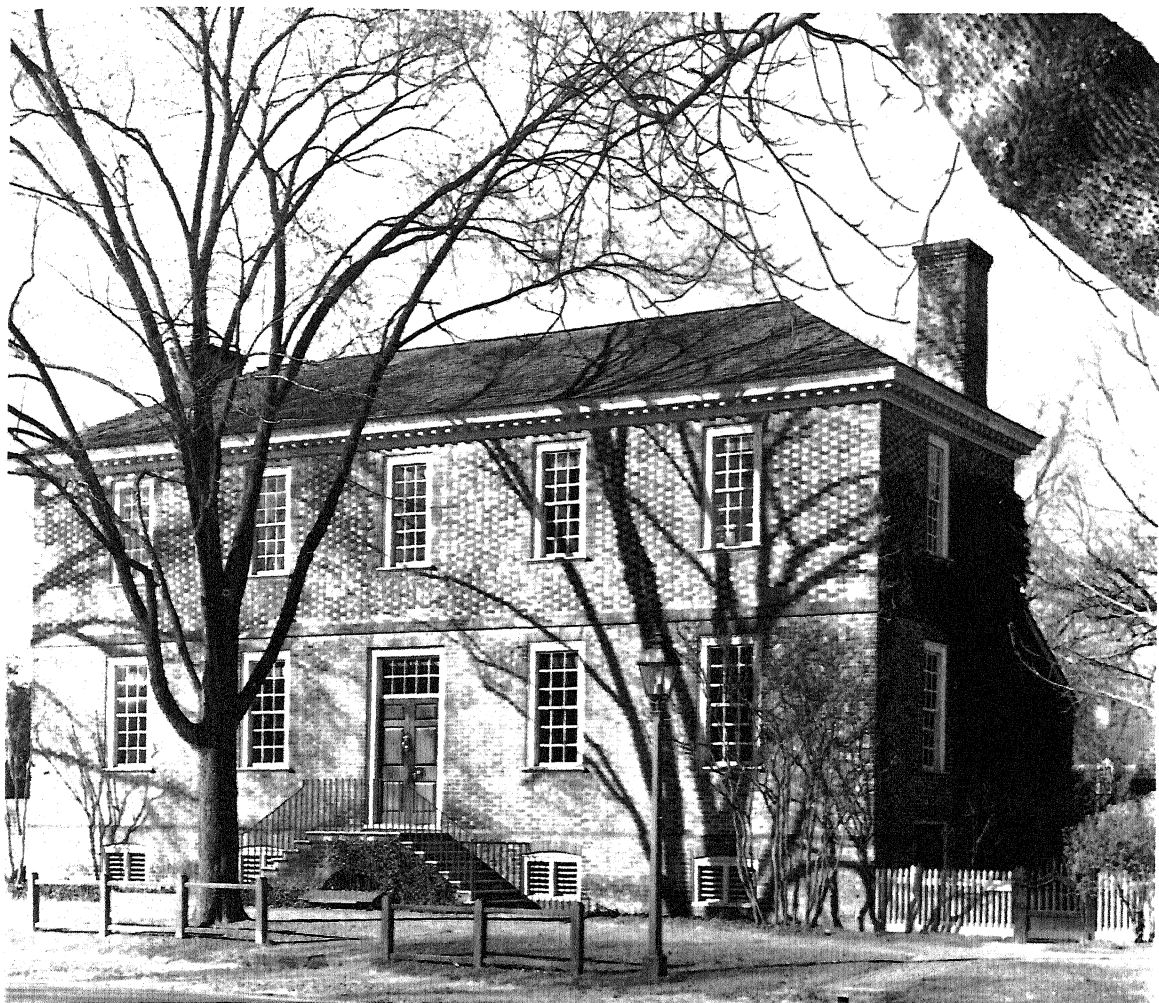


Figure 62. THE LUDWELL-PARADISE HOUSE FROM DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

THE LUDWELL-PARADISE HOUSE

Philip Ludwell II of Green Spring, a large estate some six miles west of Williamsburg which for thirty-five years (1642-1677) had been the seat of Governor Sir William Berkeley, was granted the lot upon which this house stands by the trustees of the city of Williamsburg in 1700.¹ Since it did not escheat to the city—though two lots immediately west of it, which were granted to him at the same time, did—Ludwell must have

built a house upon it within two years. It seems improbable that it was the present house. It is conceivable that this was built within the period 1710-1716, when Ludwell was deputy auditor general of the colony; but it is more likely, in view of its architectural character, that it was built by Philip Ludwell III, after he came of age and entered upon his inheritance in 1737.

The house consists of a two-story front por-

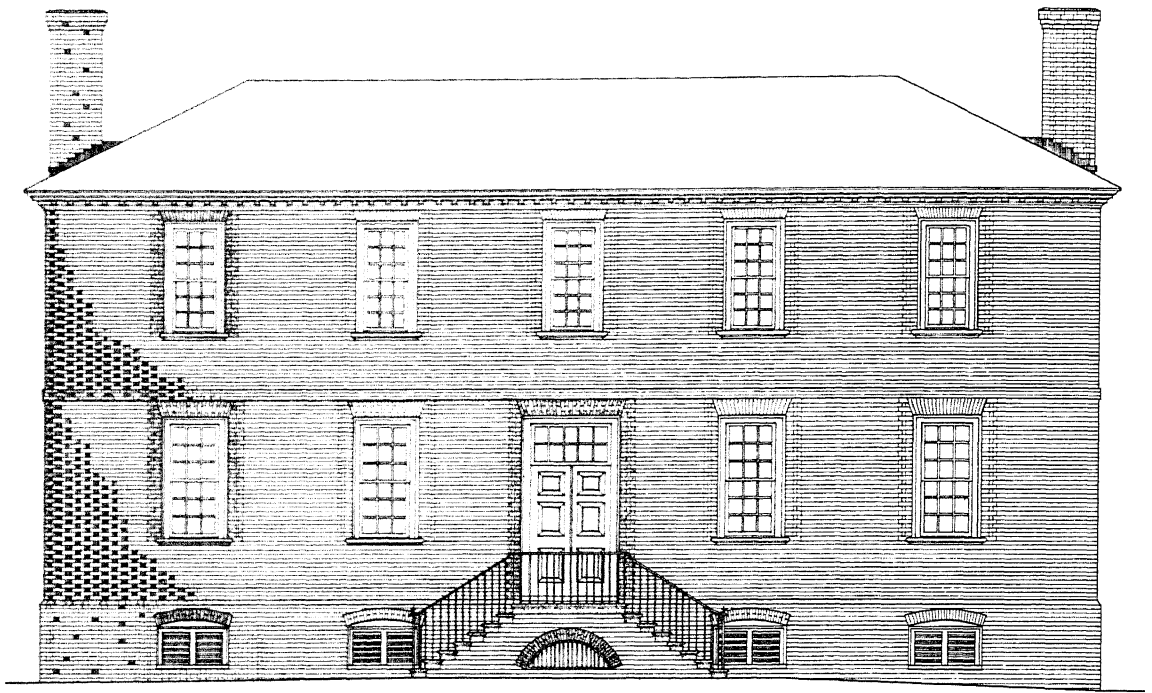


Figure 63. THE LUDWELL-PARADISE HOUSE.
South elevation.

tion, one room deep on each floor, with a single-story lean-to, or shed, extending along the length of the rear. The north wall of the shed, unlike all the other outside walls, is of frame construction covered with weatherboards. One might conclude that it had been intended to build the whole house to two stories, and that this course had been abandoned for lack of funds. But two things militate against this conclusion: the basement walls of the north (or shed) section are only 1 ft. thick and therefore were evidently never intended to be carried up two stories; and the centers of the chimneys fall nearly 2 ft. south of the longitudinal axis of the ground plan, instead of upon it as they surely would have done if this had been designed as a regular two-story house.

The wide expanses of wall between the windows give the front of the Ludwell-Paradise House a certain reticence, which but for the rich pattern of the Flemish bond brickwork with its regular glazed headers would amount to austerity. This brickwork, and most of the cornice, is all that is original on the exterior of the house, which had suffered in many hands before it was acquired for restoration in 1926—Dr. Goodwin's very first purchase on behalf of Mr. Rockefeller.

CONDITION

The house was restored in 1931. As noted above, it had been much altered from time to time. The biggest campaign of alterations took place in the early 1920's, when, *inter alia*, the front door was framed in a pedimented

frontispiece of wood. This was removed, and the arches and the sills of the ground-floor windows on the street front were raised and lowered respectively to their original positions, indicated by the brickwork. Upper-floor windows had preserved their original sills, frames, and trim, which, being too decayed for retention, were replaced with copies. The chimneys, which were modern, were taken down to the top of the old portion just below the roof and rebuilt to a design indicated by a nineteenth-century photograph. All the framing of the shed, both roof

and wall, was renewed with old materials, and its north wall was refaced with old weatherboards from a wrecked house on Boush Street, Norfolk. The framing of the roof and floors is in the main original. The stair is largely original; the balusters are new, following the original design indicated by the profile of the half-balusters found on the original newel posts. A fair amount of old woodwork from other Virginian buildings was used in the interior; for instance, paneling in the southwest room on the ground floor came from Bolling House, Petersburg.



Figure 64. THE MOODY HOUSE. The exterior, looking east along Francis Street.

THE MOODY HOUSE

The eighteenth-century history of the house that stood here until 1939, when it was razed and reconstructed, is poorly documented. The Frenchman's Map shows two buildings on the lot, joined end to end; the Williamsburg land tax records show that the property was purchased by Josias Moody in 1794. And

that is all. Even of Mr. Moody, who owned it until 1820, singularly little—indeed, not so much as his occupation—is known.

The fabric of the building, however, had an interesting story to tell. The framing of the walls and roof made it clear beyond all reasonable doubt that as first built, probably in

Figure 65. THE MOODY HOUSE BEFORE RESTORATION.



the second quarter of the eighteenth century, it measured 32 ft. by 18 ft. and had a central chimney serving both rooms. Between the front door and the chimney was a small entry, measuring 6 ft. 4 in. by 4 ft. 6 in., with a door to each of the rooms and presumably (since there was not room for any other kind of stair) a ladder to the loft. It was, that is to say, a house of a type which was common enough in New England but which, doubtless for reasons of climate, was so rare in Virginia that this would seem to be the only recorded example.¹ The first addition to this little house was a lean-to, or shed, at the back; later, it was lengthened 13 ft. to the west, the central chimney was taken down to permit a through passage and stairs of the normal type, and end chimneys were built.

The result was a hall-passage-parlor house of the usual form, with a shed extension; outwardly there was nothing to show that the course of development by which it had arrived at that form was unusual if not indeed unique.

CONDITION

The structural condition of this house was so poor that it was decided to reconstruct it completely rather than attempt restoration; the work was carried out in 1939-1940. Outside, only the two chimneys up to a point just above their second haunches are original. Within, three of the doors, most of the floorboards, and all visible parts of the simple but handsome stair, which has three turned balusters to each step, are original.



Figure 66. THE PRENTIS STORE FROM DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

THE PRENTIS STORE

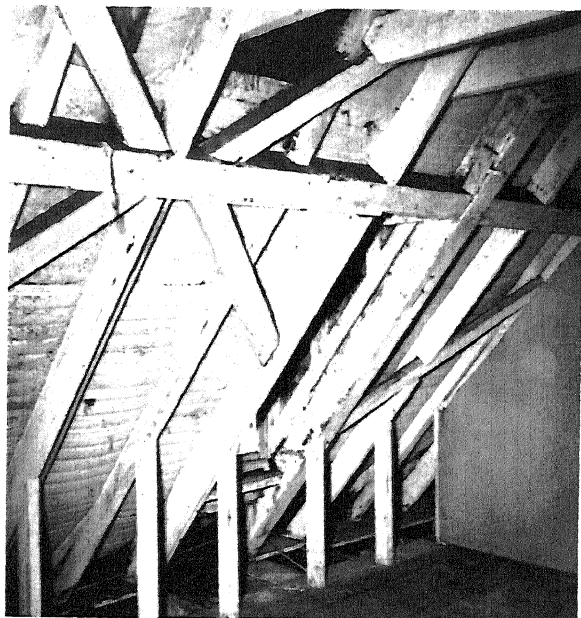
Built in 1738-1740,¹ this is the oldest surviving store in Williamsburg. With its brick walls, pedimental gable, shop windows, and (what is surprising in so small a building) trussed roof,² it represents the commercial architecture of the time and place at its most substantial and highly finished. Its dimensions on plan, 24 ft. wide by 36 ft. deep, are very close to those of the shop in Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* of 1703, which is 20 ft. wide by 40 ft. deep.

The walls are laid up in Flemish bond throughout, with a plentiful, though far from uniform,³ use of glazed headers; the water



Figure 67. THE PRENTIS STORE
BEFORE RESTORATION.

*Figure 68. THE PRENTIS STORE.
Detail of roof framing.*



table, composed of alternate headers and stretchers, is a plain chamfer. Rubbed brick is employed in all the usual places. The roof has a pronounced kick to the eaves, and resembles a good deal the roofs of the dependencies at Shirley, Charles City County, which, if the date 1740 generally given for them may be accepted, are exactly contemporaneous.⁴ The window opening in the gable to the street, as a glance at the surrounding brickwork will show, was once wider and higher than it is today. It was doubtless used for hoisting goods from the street directly to the upper floor.⁵

The interior followed the standard arrangement, with the shop proper—which was about 21 ft. square and probably sheathed with vertical boards—in front, and the counting room and stairs behind.⁶ The counting room had a fireplace and was lighted by two small windows in the east wall; the shop, where all wall space was needed for the storage and dis-

play of goods, got its light from the front windows only. The upper floor was used not only for storage but also for sleeping one or more of the clerks or apprentices, for when William Prentis died in 1765 it was furnished with “a Bed, Bedstead, Cord, Hide, Sheets, 2 Pillows and Cases” and a “Ship’s stove.”⁷

CONDITION

The Prentis Store was restored in 1928–1929. When acquired by Colonial Williamsburg it was being used as an automobile service station. Although it had been gutted and the existing shop front was of the nineteenth century, the main structure, including the roof with its trim, had been little altered. It was necessary, however, to rebuild the north wall and, owing to its poor condition, to renew much of the roof trim. All window sash and doors also date from the 1928–1929 restoration. At the time of writing further restoration is contemplated.



Figure 69. THE BENJAMIN WALLER HOUSE FROM THE NORTHEAST.

THE BENJAMIN WALLER HOUSE

The destruction of the James City County records in the Civil War has left us with little certain knowledge of the early history of the lot upon which this house stands. A plan made in 1749 by William Waller,¹ burgess for Spotsylvania County, shows that by then it belonged to his brother Benjamin, a lawyer who five years before, at the age of twenty-six, had been appointed an advocate of the Court of Admiralty by Governor Gooch and who was to play an increasingly important part in the affairs of the city and colony. It is a reasonable assumption that Benjamin



Figure 70. THE BENJAMIN WALLER HOUSE BEFORE RESTORATION.

Waller was living upon it in 1746, the year of his marriage, when he was certainly living in Williamsburg. Waller continued owner of the property until his death in 1786, when his youngest son inherited it.

The Frenchman's Map establishes that the house had assumed its present L-plan form by 1782. The stages through which it passed before it did so were found to be clearly distinguishable, though not datable, when the framing was examined prior to restoration.

The original house was of one room only—the present east room in the main range. It was 24 ft. long by 18 ft. broad, and so exceeded by a comfortable margin in each dimension the 20 ft. by 16 ft. minimum required to “hold” a lot on a back street. At first, its roof was covered not with shingles but with overlapping boards, some of which were found still in position, and there were no dormers. The first addition was an entry or stair passage, 9 ft. wide, at the west end; later, the

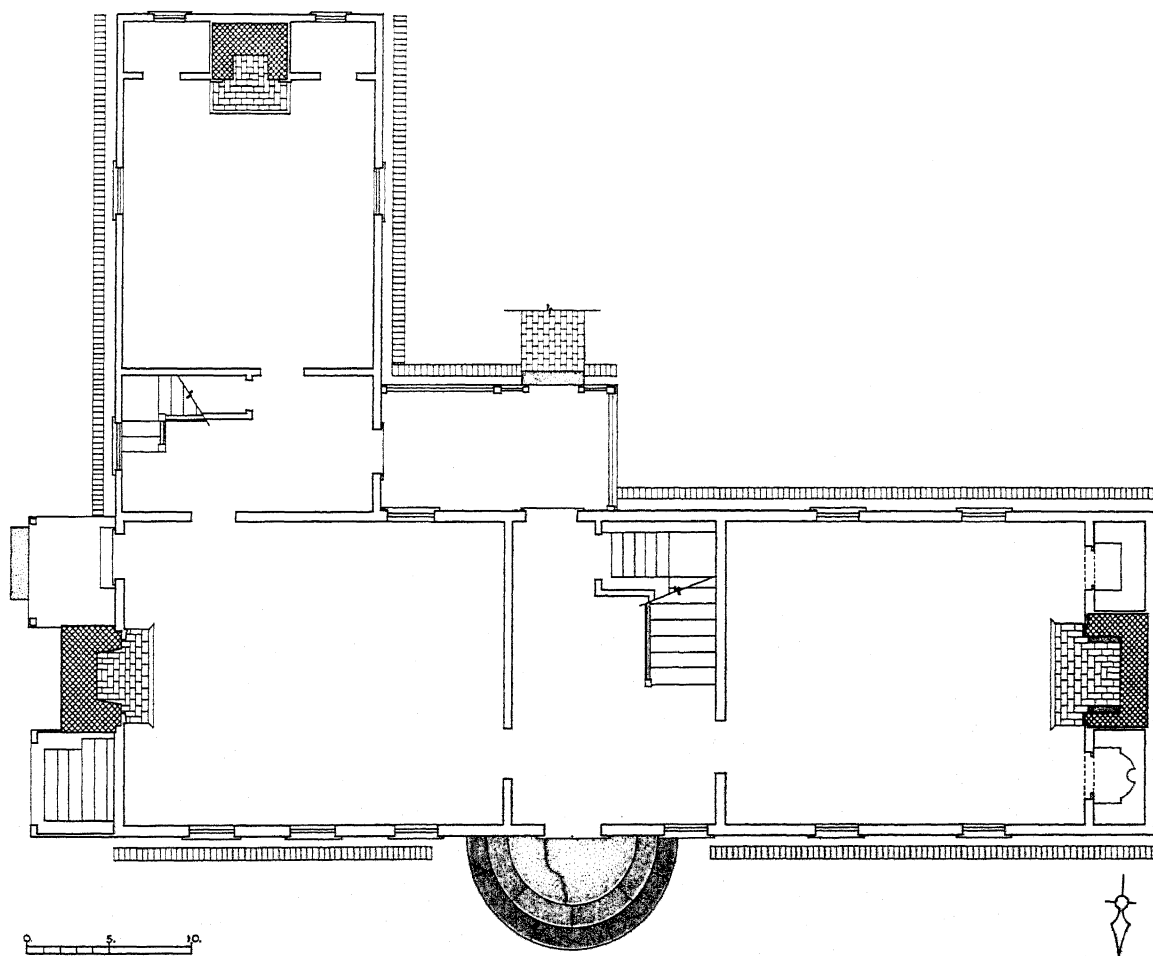


Figure 71. THE BENJAMIN WALLER HOUSE. Plan.

width of this was increased to 12 ft. 3 in., the present stair was built, and the west room was added, bringing the total length of the house (exclusive of the east chimney and attachments flanking it) to 63 ft. The roof of the west part was framed for dormers from the first, and it is reasonable to suppose that the dormers were cut into the roof of the old east part at the time of this second addition. The last major addition—made before 1782, as we have seen—was the gambrel-roofed wing to the rear. A later, minor addition, made before the end of the century, was the south porch of the main range.

It is interesting to compare the history of the development of the house with that of the Moody House, a quarter of a mile to the west on the same street.² Both were enlarged by stages, and in neither case could one guess what those stages were from the outward appearance of the building in its final form.

A most unusual detail of the exterior is the facing of the cheeks of the dormers of the main range with beaded weatherboards, instead of the diagonal flush boarding nearly always used in this position.³ Examination of the framing of the dormers showed, contrary to all expectations, that the weatherboards were original.

East of the house stands the old smokehouse. Of undetermined date, this is a 10 ft. square building with a pyramidal roof. The framing of the walls consists of 4 in. by 6 in. sills, plates and corner posts, with no intermediate studs; the weatherboards are nailed

to random-width vertical planking. The tulip-headed pales of the fence between the street and yard at the east end of the house were copied from an eighteenth-century specimen found nailed to one of the rafters of the house.

CONDITION

The house was restored in 1951-1953. The frame was reinforced throughout and all groundsills were renewed; basement walls were partially rebuilt. The east chimney was rebuilt completely to a design determined by the base of the chimney then existing and markings on the frame; the west chimney was rebuilt above the level of the collar beam of the roof. All weatherboarding was renewed except on the west elevation of the main range, where nearly all the weatherboarding is old. The eaves cornice on the street front is new, modeled upon the original surviving cornice on the south front. Some of the shutters are old; window sash is new throughout. The front door is original; the steps were reconstructed with the aid of surviving fragments and foundations. The south porch is a reconstruction upon the original foundations. Much of the interior woodwork is original, including many of the doors, the closets flanking the fireplace in the west room, and both stairs. There is also a fair amount of original hardware in the house. In the restoration of the smokehouse the brick foundation was rebuilt, the sills were replaced, and the roof framing was renewed.



Figure 72. THE ROBERT CARTER HOUSE. East front from Palace Green.

THE ROBERT CARTER HOUSE

The Robert Carter House has a character and features that set it apart. The date of its erection is uncertain. The earliest definite information about the lots upon which it stands is given by an indenture of 1746, which records their sale by Charles Carter to one Robert Cary of London, merchant.¹ (It is likely enough that they were included in the Williamsburg property left in 1732 by "King" Carter to his son George, Charles Carter's eldest brother, and were purchased by Charles from the trustees appointed to administer George's estate in 1744; but there is no certain proof, and the evidence is tangled.) In 1747 Cary sold the property to a physi-

cian, Kenneth McKenzie;² in 1751 it was purchased by the colony, to house Governor Dinwiddie while the Palace was being repaired.³ In 1753 it was purchased by Robert Carter Nicholas,⁴ who in 1761 sold it to Robert Carter of Nomini Hall,⁵ and it remained in Robert Carter's possession until it was purchased by Robert Saunders, between 1796 and 1801.⁶ One may be confident that the house had taken the form we see today by 1751, when it was chosen as a temporary residence for the governor in preference to the Ludwell-Paradise House⁷ and therefore must already have been a substantial building. And since a graph of the prices at which the

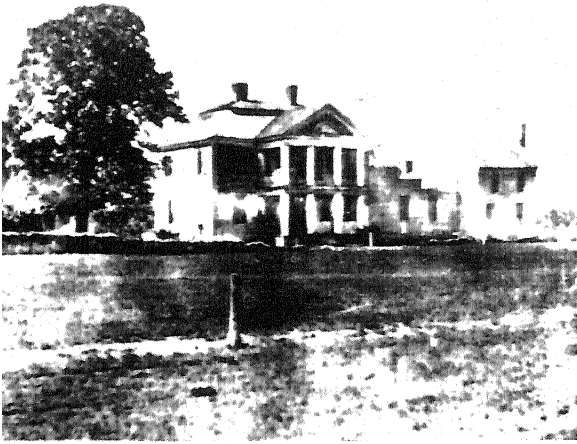


Figure 73. THE ROBERT CARTER HOUSE
BEFORE RESTORATION.

property changed hands shows the steepest rise between Dr. McKenzie's purchase of it and the sale to the colony, it may well be that Dr. McKenzie was the owner responsible for giving it that form.⁸ A date in the late 1740's would accord well enough with the stylistic evidence.

Externally, the most obviously unusual feature of the Robert Carter House is its roof. This is now a true mansard, a type more common in late seventeenth-century England than in eighteenth-century Virginia; Ampthill, formerly in Chesterfield County but rebuilt in 1929 in Richmond, has one of the few other Virginian examples. At one stage in the house's history, however, the Robert Carter House had a double ridge at the level of the top of the lower slope, as was revealed by examination of the framing, which showed traces of shingle laths on members now inside. The porch is a reconstruction, its design hypothetical; the house is known to have had a porch in the eighteenth century, but it was replaced in the nineteenth by a heavy, two-storied portico in Greek Doric.

The unusually wide spacing of the windows on the street side, giving only three openings in each story of a front 45 ft. 6 in. long, leads us to consider the plan. This is unique in Williamsburg, if not in Virginia. Instead of a broad passage through the middle of the house with the stairs ascending by one of its side walls, there is an L-shaped entrance hall with the stairs to the right—in the horizontal stroke of the L, so to speak. Among colonial buildings, the Brice House at Annapolis shows a similar arrangement; among British ones, Milton House in Edinburgh. Now Milton House was designed by William Adam, father of the famous brothers, and the design was engraved and published, as were other of his designs, by the architect. The resemblance of the plan of the Brice House to that of Milton House seems too close to be due to chance, especially when it is remembered that there is other evidence that the engravings of William Adam's works (which were not collected into the volume entitled *Vitruvius Scoticus* until 1810) were known in the colonies at an early date.⁹ Can one say the same of the plan of the Robert Carter House? The resemblance is not so immediately striking, but it is there. In two respects, indeed, the Robert Carter House resembles Milton House more closely than the Brice House does: it has only three openings in each story of the entrance front, and that front is only 1 ft. shorter than the front of the Edinburgh building. The likelihood of Milton House having been adopted as the model would be the greater if in fact it was during the ownership of Dr. McKenzie, who was a Scot, that the building was given its present form.

Inside, the Robert Carter House retains its original stair, some plain early mantels,

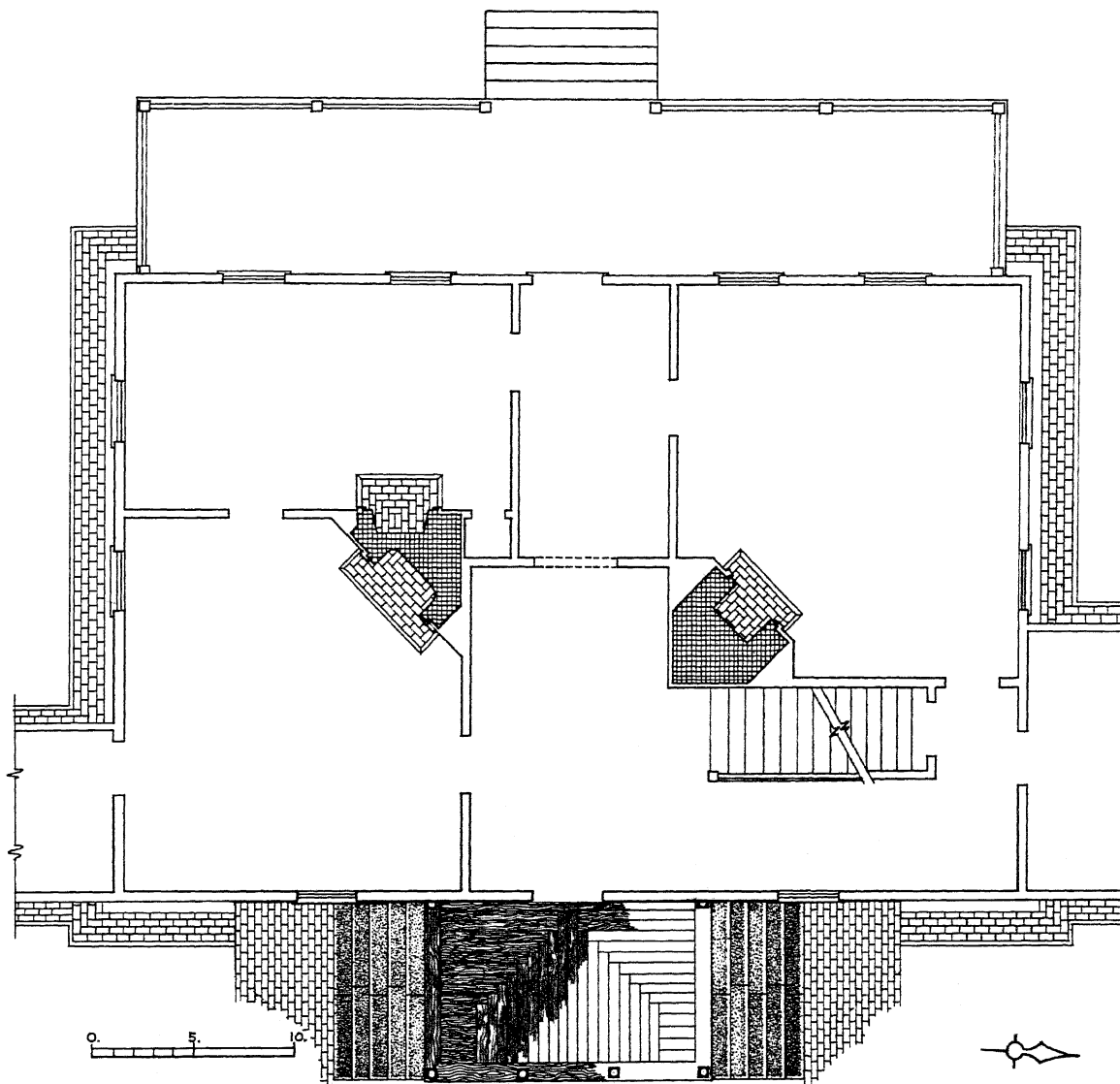


Figure 74. THE ROBERT CARTER HOUSE. Plan.

eighteenth-century chair rails and wooden cornices, and (in the southeast room on the upper floor) the only surviving eighteenth-century plaster cornice in Williamsburg.

CONDITION

The house was restored in 1931-1932 and the lateral additions were reconstructed in 1950. Much of the weatherboarding is old and original to the house, and so are many of the

shutters; most window frames are original, but all sashes were renewed to a design established by old sashes that remained. Other external features renewed were the eaves cornice and the front door. The rear porch was added as a feature of convenience. (For the front porch, see above.) Inside, the flooring is old and original to the house, as are eight of the doors. An original brick outbuilding stands to the northwest of the house.



Figure 75. THE GEORGE WYTHE HOUSE. East front from Palace Green.

THE GEORGE WYTHE HOUSE

This house, generally and not unjustly considered the most handsome colonial house in Williamsburg, was built about 1750 by Richard Taliaferro.¹ A planter who on occasion undertook building works and may or may not have given designs for the buildings he erected, Taliaferro was at the time repairing, and adding the ballroom wing to, the Palace.² The proximity of his new house to

that building would clearly have made for convenience in the matter of supervision, and it is conceivable that there was some causal relation, connected with the supply of materials, between the private work and his undertaking of the public one.

George Wythe married Taliaferro's daughter, Elizabeth, about 1755, and probably moved into the house then. By that time



Figure 76. THE GEORGE WYTHE HOUSE.
Passage and stairs.



Figure 77. THE GEORGE WYTHE HOUSE. Detail of stairs.

Taliaferro, who on his death in 1775 gave the couple a life right to the property, was living in Powhatan, in James City County, in a house which affords an interesting comparison with his Williamsburg house,³ where Wythe continued to live until 1791.

With four rooms and a wide central passage on each floor, the Wythe House has a regularity of plan which the removal to outbuildings of the kitchen and other service rooms made easier of achievement, and therefore commoner, in Virginia than in the mother country.⁴ The plan is symmetrical about the east-west axis only, for the front rooms, as usual, are slightly deeper than those to the rear; but all four exterior elevations are symmetrical. The geometrical system of proportion controlling the design has been described upon an earlier page, and so

has the variation in the size of the windows and their component parts. A variation of another kind that was not intentional but due to a bricklayer's inaccuracy of workmanship—the failure to center the upper north window on the east front over the one below—is more noticeable in the measured elevation (*Fig. 11*) than in the building itself. In general the brickwork is of the high quality characteristic of the mid-century, with rubbed brick judiciously used as an articulating element, and shows, as does the Powhatan brickwork, that Taliaferro, whatever his abilities as a designer, knew how to get good work from the craftsmen he employed.

CONDITION

The Wythe House was restored in 1939–1940. The walls are original, except where patched; some of the patching was done with old bricks from the original chimneys, which had to be rebuilt for reasons of safety. The steps on both fronts are new, but the original design was established by the holes for, and in three places the profiles of, the oak nosings in the walls. The eaves cornice is of nineteenth-century date but of eighteenth-century pattern, and may be presumed to follow the design of the original cornice. The double doors on both fronts are original, and so are the transom sashes above them; the bulkhead near the southeast corner of the house is a reconstructed feature. Most of the window frames and sash are original, with considerable repairs. Framing generally is original. The stairs, most of the flooring, most internal doors (together with their hardware), and most of the window shutters on the ground floor (including all in the southeast room) are original. All mantels are new.

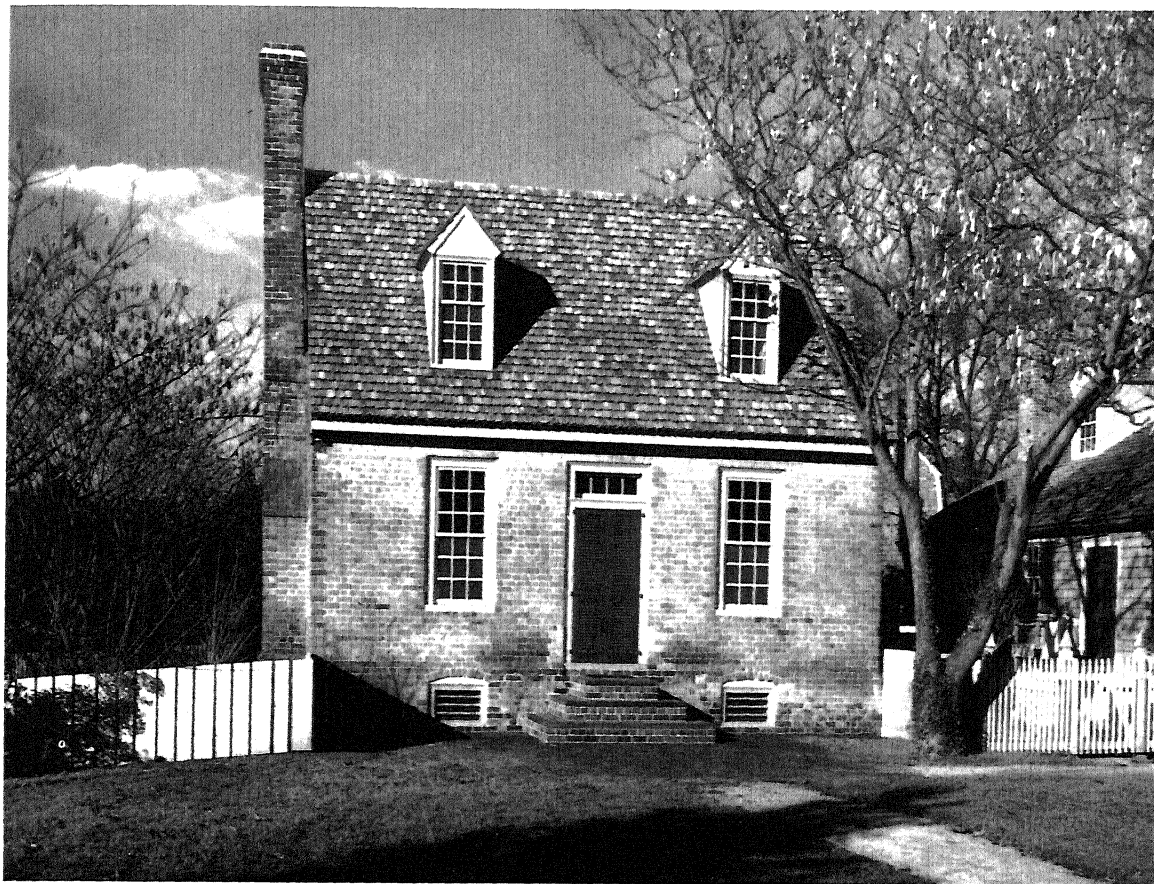


Figure 78. THE GREENHOW-REPITON BRICK OFFICE. View from the east.

THE GREENHOW-REPITON BRICK OFFICE

John Greenhow, the first recorded owner of this building, was a merchant of considerable prominence in Williamsburg from about 1755 until his death in 1788. Its position facing Market Square and the fact that it is of brick and therefore relatively fireproof, while the main house upon the lot (which has been reconstructed) was of wood, suggest a commercial function, as a store or counting house. So also does the one-room plan in conjunction with the careful finish of the brickwork, superior to what one would expect in a dwelling house of such modest dimensions. The

character of the brickwork suggests a date near the middle of the eighteenth century.

The ground-floor room retains its original wooden cornice; the stairs, partly old, are in the northeast corner. An unusual feature is the splaying of the window jambs, but this may be the result of a nineteenth-century alteration.

CONDITION

The Greenhow-Repiton Brick Office was restored in 1948. It had for a period in the nineteenth century been used as a jail, and

prior to the restoration went under the misnomer of "the Debtors' Prison." The walls are original except where small windows cut in the gable ends in the nineteenth century have been filled in. The front steps were reconstructed according to the evidence of the holes for their oak nosing which were found

in the wall. The dormers had gone, but their framing remained in the roof. Enough of the eaves cornice remained to make an accurate restoration possible; the cornice end boards, of unusual form, are old if not original. Window sash, basement grilles, and the front door and transom light are new.



Figure 79. THE LIGHTFOOT HOUSE FROM DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

THE LIGHTFOOT HOUSE

The lots upon which this house stands were owned by members of the Lightfoot family for a period of a hundred years or more ending in 1839.¹ The first was Philip Lightfoot, councilor, planter, merchant, and attorney—and one of the richest men in Virginia in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. It is a likely guess that he built the house between 1733, when he was appointed to the Council, and 1740, when William Byrd records a visit to “Colonel Lightfoot’s.”²

In 1736 a British traveler described Lightfoot’s Yorktown house as “equal in Magnifi-

cence to many of our superb ones at St. James’s.”³ Magnificence can never have been an attribute of his little house in Williamsburg; yet it has a plan which would have made a Londoner feel perfectly at home, with two rooms, back and front, on each floor and the stair to one side. It is, that is to say, like the Palmer House (to be discussed), an isolated terrace house. Its urban ancestry is revealed not only by the general arrangement, but also by its proportions on plan—it is deeper from back to front than it is wide—and by the total enclosure of the chimney, as

if by a party wall. As usual the front rooms are larger than the back.

The street front is well balanced. Its satisfactory effect, however, is due in part to the present steps to the front door and their railing, whose diagonals help to tie this part of the front to the rest, and these probably do not follow the original arrangement. The running up of the steps parallel to the wall was dictated by the need to keep them behind the property line; in the eighteenth century, when the sidewalk grade here was higher than it is today, the door could have been reached by fewer steps approaching it frontally in the normal manner. The width of the original platform was established by the dis-

covery of a fragment of one of its foundation walls and by other structural indications.

The roof may be the earliest gambrel in Williamsburg, and owing to the gentle rake of the upper slopes it is the lowest in relation to its span; the tendency as the century progressed was for the upper part of the gambrel to become steeper, as a comparison with the slightly later Tayloe House and the considerably later Ewing House will show. The lower slopes, on the other hand, are very nearly vertical, with the result that the faces of the dormers project beyond the walls of the principal story, instead of lying in the same plane as they do in the Tayloe House.

The interior is simple, without wainscot or

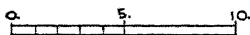
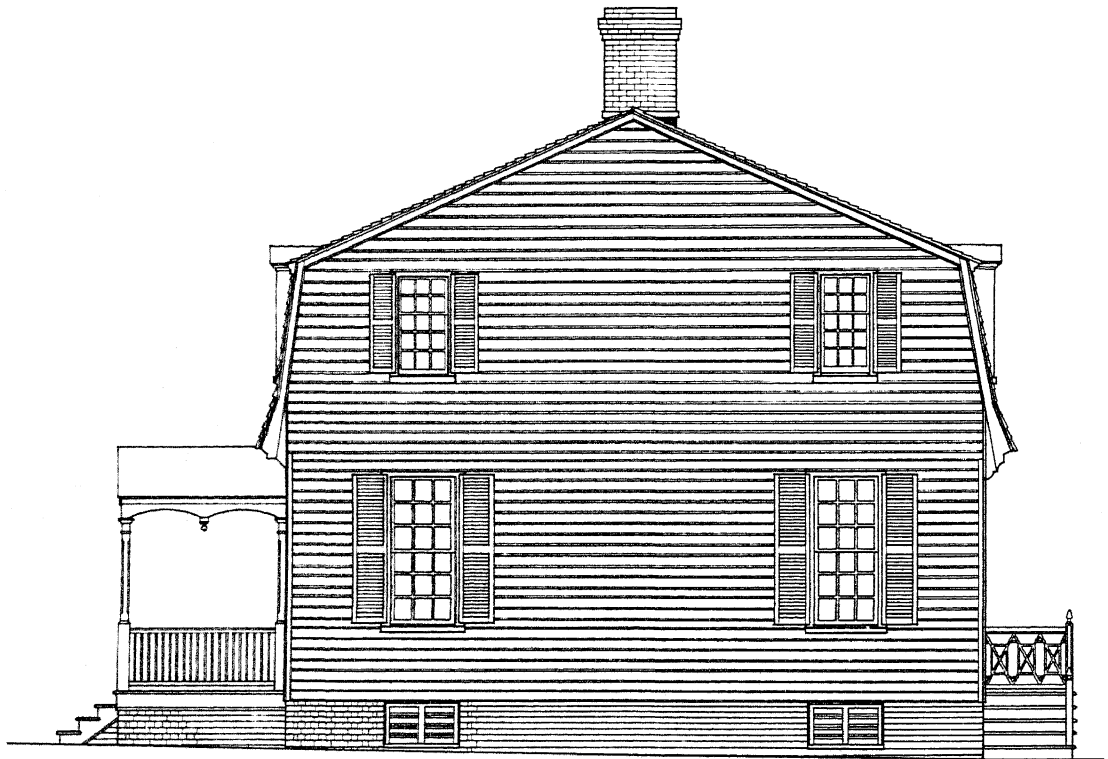


Figure 80. THE LIGHTFOOT HOUSE.
East elevation.

paneling. The stair, which is of the closed-string type with turned balusters and square newel posts, is peculiar in three respects. First, the newel post at its foot is paneled while the rest are plain; secondly, the newel post at the half-landing continues down to the floor below;⁴ thirdly, the upper flight ends, not at the beam across the entry at the edge of the stair well in the normal manner, but two feet short of it, the gap being spanned by a projection of the landing.

Two of the outbuildings are in large part original—the smokehouse and the dairy. Each is a frame structure, a little more than 10 ft. square, with a pyramidal roof. The eaves of the dairy, which project more than 3 ft., have a flat soffit instead of the cove under the eaves of the Archibald Blair dairy, for example.

CONDITION

The house was restored in 1931. Three nineteenth-century additions—a porch on the

front, a two-story wing to the east, and a lean-to at the rear—were removed. Most of the framing is old, reinforced. The chimney was taken down for the practical purpose of putting in terra cotta flue linings, and then rebuilt as before. Most of the weatherboarding is old, though not necessarily of eighteenth-century date. The main eaves cornice on the street front is the original, slightly repaired; that at the rear is old except for the bed mold and fascia below. The original curb or gambrel cornices were still in position but had to be replaced because of their rotted condition. Ground-floor window sash, frames, and trim on the street front are old; dormer sash on this front is new, after the design of old sash found in the dormers at the rear. Two of the shutters are original and served as model for the rest. The front door and transom light are new. Inside, the stair and some of the doors and trim are original. The smokehouse and dairy had been moved from their foundations; they were replaced upon them and repaired as necessary.



Figure 81. THE TAYLOE HOUSE FROM NICHOLSON STREET, WITH THE OFFICE AND THE RECONSTRUCTED KITCHEN BEYOND

THE TAYLOE HOUSE

The Tayloe House is the most spacious of that group of isolated terrace houses with gambrel roofs at another member of which, the Lightfoot house, we have just looked. The precise date of its erection is not known, but pretty certainly falls in the period 1752-1759, when the lot upon which it stands was owned by the surgeon and apothecary, James Carter. For in 1759 Carter sold the property for the considerable sum of £600,¹ which was three times what he gave for it,² and stylistic evidence

also supports a date in the 1750's. Its purchaser from Carter was John Tayloe, who had just completed his fine stone mansion of Mount Airy, in Richmond County, Virginia.

Externally, the Tayloe House differs from the Lightfoot House most significantly in the rake of the lower slopes of the roof, which is less steep and wall-like, giving a greater projection to the dormer roofs. An unusual refinement is the slight kick given to the eaves near the ends of the roof only. The front

Figure 82. THE TAYLOE HOUSE BEFORE RESTORATION.



Figure 83. THE TAYLOE HOUSE.
The entry, before restoration.

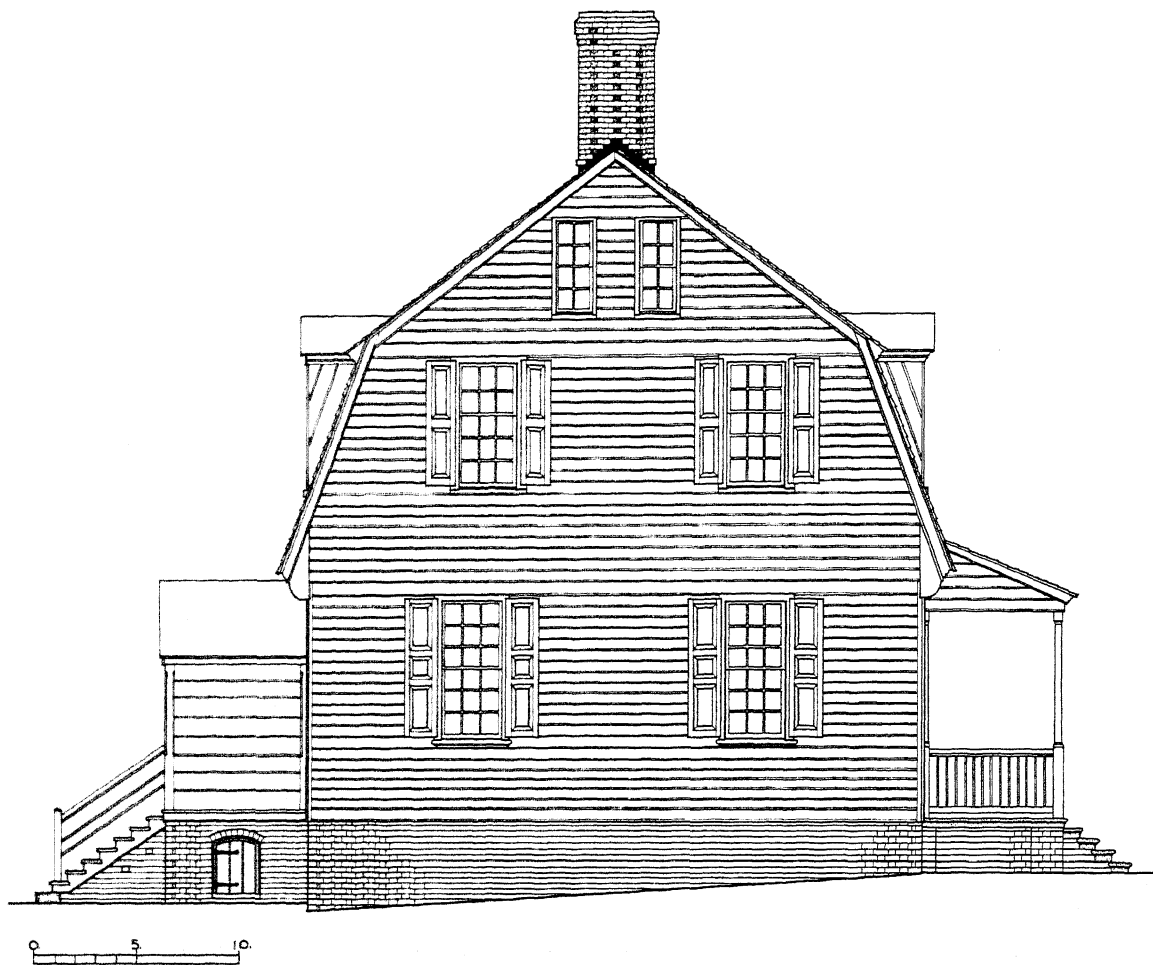


Figure 84. THE TAYLOE HOUSE. West elevation.

porch is a reconstruction on original foundations; the back porch, which has been boarded in as a measure of convenience, is original. The charm of the house is in its interior. John Tayloe would feel more at home today in this, his town house, than in Mount Airy, which was gutted by fire in 1844. For here the floor-to-ceiling paneling of the front

room on the ground floor, together with its crowning cornice, and the 4 ft. 6 in. paneled dado and ceiling cornice in the room behind, have survived the two centuries that have passed since the house was built; they are among the best examples of eighteenth-century interior trim in Williamsburg. Other notable features are the paneled shutters in-

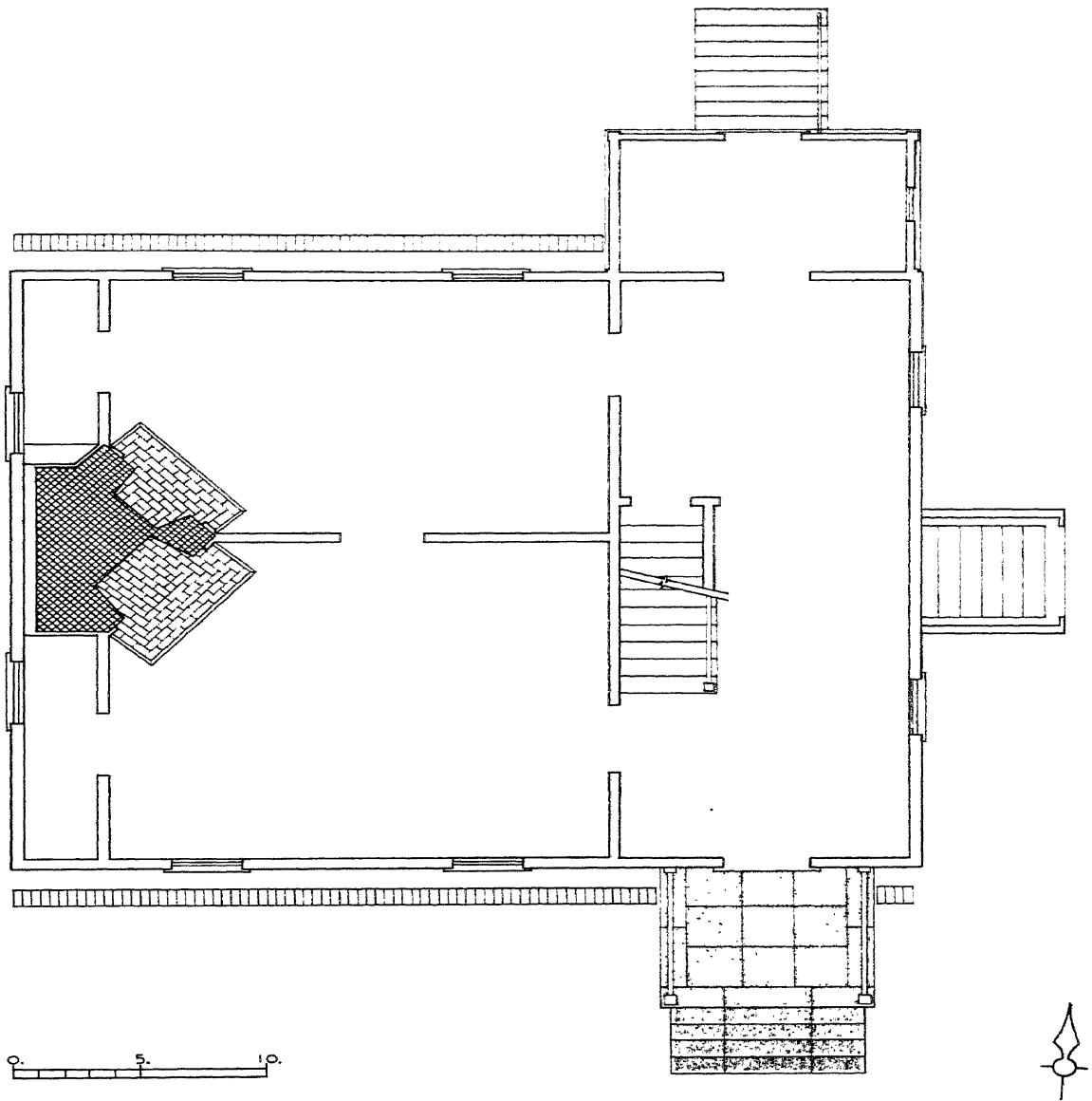


Figure 85. THE TAYLOE HOUSE. Plan.

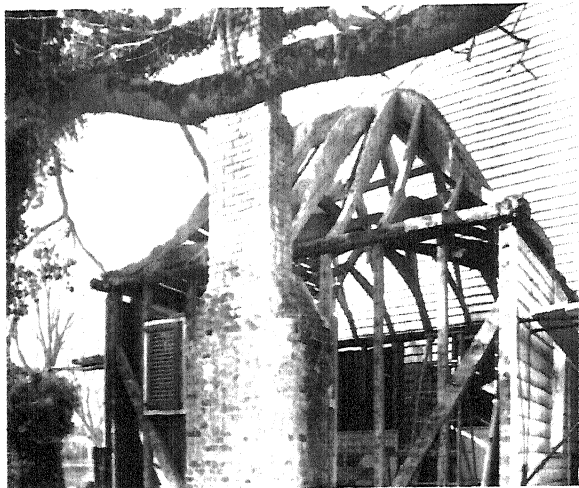


Figure 86. THE TAYLOE OFFICE.
The framing, stripped for restoration.

side the dormers (a feature found elsewhere in Williamsburg only at the Nelson-Galt House) and the marble table top supported by handsome wrought-iron brackets near the front door. Yet even more remarkable is the design of the stair hall and passage above it. The normal arrangement is for the stair to ascend against one wall to an intermediate landing and then return against the opposite wall to the upper floor. Here, however, while the first flight ascends, conventionally enough, against the inner lateral wall of the stair hall, the upper flight returns free of the outer wall, so that on the upper floor the open stair well is bounded by wall on one side only, the other three sides being protected where necessary by a balustrade of the same design as that on the stair itself. This admirable scheme produces a spatial continuity between the two floors such as is not often found in colonial domestic architecture.

Three of the outbuildings of the Tayloe House are original in some degree. To the northwest is a storehouse, of which only the brick basement dates from the eighteenth century. To the northeast (beyond the recon-

structed kitchen and laundry) stands a square wooden smokehouse of which most of the fabric is original; the door is hung on old strap hinges and still has its old rim lock. But the most interesting, as well as the most conspicuous, of the surviving outbuildings is the ogee-roofed office which stands in line with the front of the house a little to the east of it. Its roof, though unique in Williamsburg, is of a type common enough in Britain in the hundred years preceding 1770 and is illustrated in many of the eighteenth-century design books. In America most of the surviving examples are later, dating from the end of the eighteenth century and the first two or three decades of the nineteenth.³ But that is not to say that this one may not be coeval, or nearly so, with the main house—a supposition which is the more tempting because it has just the kind of stylishness that would have appealed to the owner of the paneled rooms in the latter.

CONDITION

When the Tayloe House was taken over for restoration in 1950 it had a two-story exten-

Figure 87. THE TAYLOE OFFICE.
Framing of the roof.



sion to the east and a single-story one to the west, both built in the 1870's, but the house itself—and the office—had been little altered. The frame of the house had spread at the bottom, a condition corrected by the insertion of tie rods between the ground-floor joists. To strengthen the roof structure for the reception of asbestos shingles the original rafters, which were of nearly square section ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.), were supplemented by new rafters, and some of the vertical members of the frame were also supplemented. The north and south eaves cornices had survived and needed only repair and slight re-

placements; much of the original upper cornice, and parts of the bargeboards, had also survived. The weatherboarding on the south front is all original, though not necessarily to this front; the rest of the weatherboarding is new. The north and south doors are both original, and so is the sash in all the upper windows and in five of the eight windows on the ground floor. (For the porches, see above.) The interior woodwork, including paneling, ceiling cornices, stairs, and most doors, is nearly all original. The mantel of the north room on the ground floor is original, while those in the front room and upstairs are new.



Figure 88. THE PALMER HOUSE FROM DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

THE PALMER HOUSE

There was a house on this important site near the Capitol by 1732, when it was bought by Alexander Kerr, jeweler, for £100 current.¹ Some four years later, in September 1736, a complaint was laid against Kerr in the House of Burgesses:

The House was informed, That Mr. *Alexander Ker* has made several Encroachments upon the Capitol Square, particularly in setting a Brick-Kiln upon

the Capitol Bounds. *Ordered* That the Directors of the City of *Williamsburg*, take Care to remove the Nuisance of the said Brick-Kiln that is preparing to be burnt near the Capitol.²

Was the kiln to have burnt bricks for a new house for Kerr? It is likely enough, for after his death in 1738 his executors advertised for sale by auction "a well finished Brick House, in good Repair," listing as its appurtenances

“a convenient Store, Coach-House, Stables, and other Office-Houses, and a large Garden.”³ At some unknown date before 1749 this house was acquired by John Palmer, a lawyer who became bursar of the College of William and Mary. On April 24, 1754 it was destroyed in a fire—one of the most destruc-

tive of the eighteenth-century Williamsburg fires, and one of the best-described⁴—which started in the counting room of a store adjoining it to the west.

The present house was built by Palmer to replace the one burnt in 1754; the archaeological evidence suggests that it is somewhat

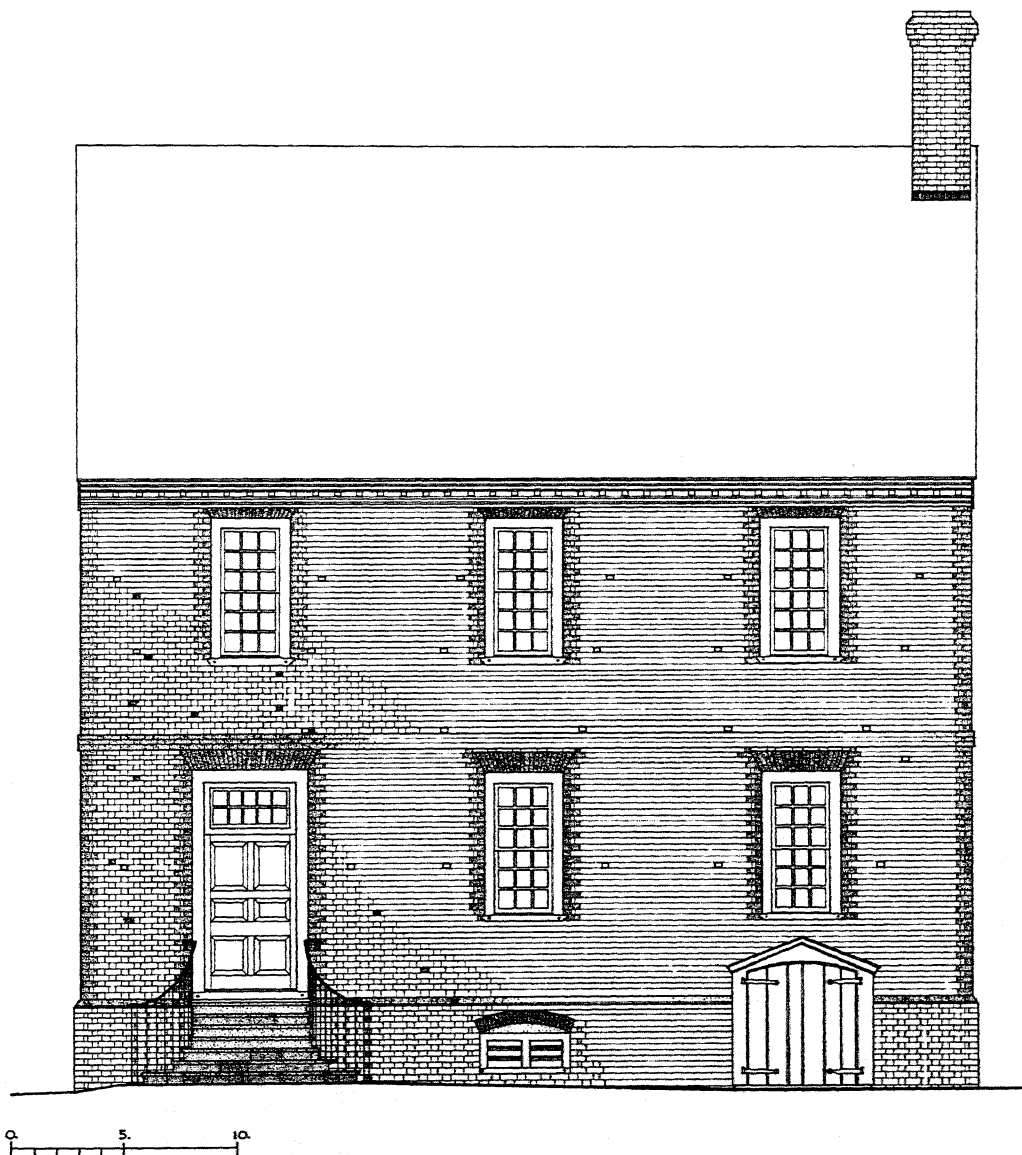


Figure 89. THE PALMER HOUSE. North elevation.

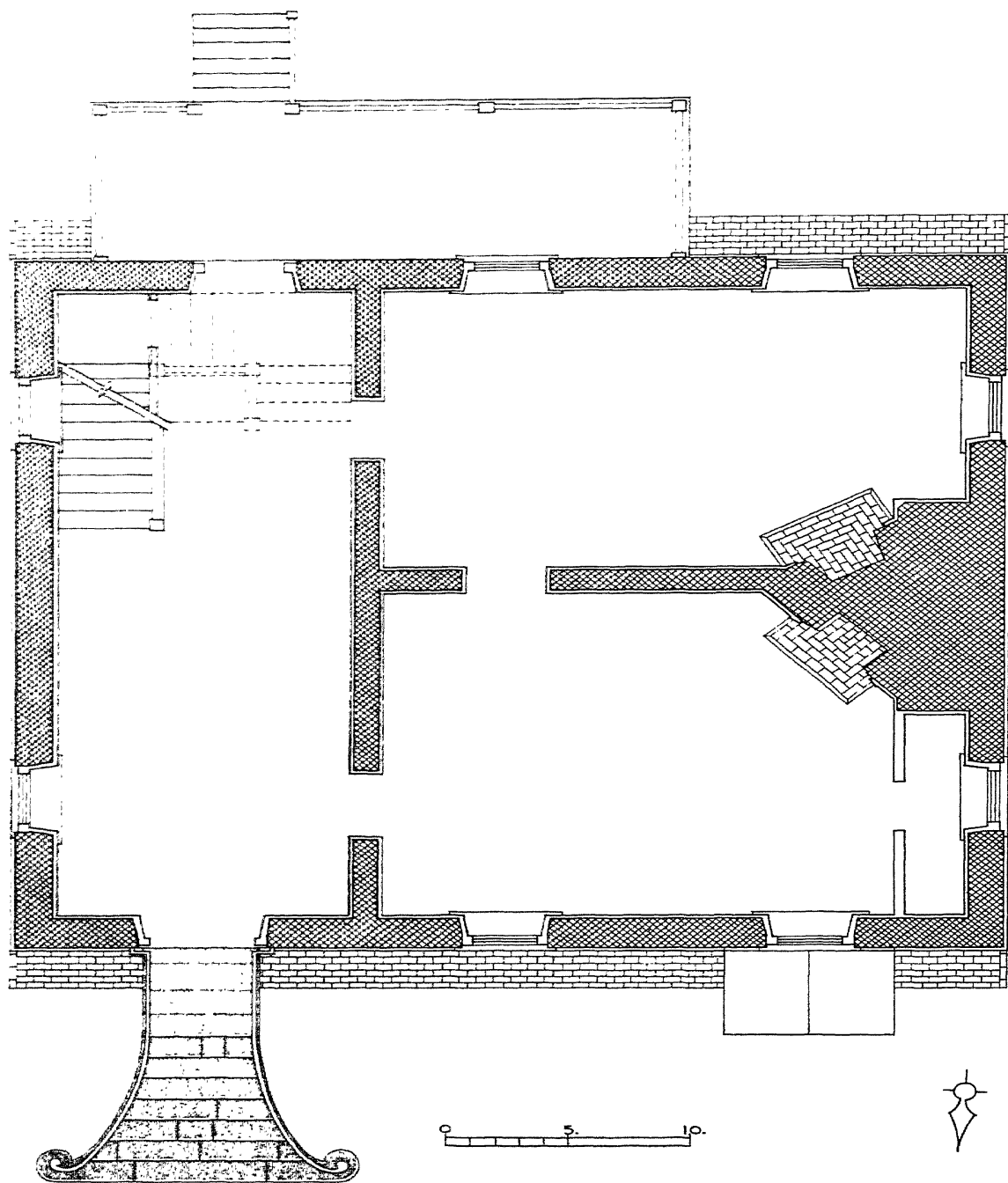


Figure 90. THE PALMER HOUSE. Plan.

larger than its predecessor was. With its brick walls and its two full stories, its front door at one end of the street front, its two-down-three-up room arrangement (the front rooms being slightly deeper than those at the back), this is of all the isolated terrace houses in Williamsburg the one that proclaims most clearly the London ancestry of the type. True, its wooden eaves cornice would have been illegal in London, where the law would also have required the window frames to be recessed further behind the plane of the wall.⁵ But the only really fundamental difference between it and its London cousins is the lighting of its basement by small windows with their sills at grade level instead of full-size windows looking into a sunken *area*—in this it still follows seventeenth-century London practice—and one is tempted to wonder whether its builder did not envisage the whole of this most important section of Duke of Gloucester Street being completely lined, one day, with rows or terraces of such houses.

A feature of this house noticed by everyone is the quantity of putlog holes in the walls. These indicate the position of the horizontal scaffolding poles used in the building of a house. Normally putlog holes are filled in when the scaffolding is taken down. But here this was not done; in fact they were not filled in until 1779 by Humphrey Harwood, as his account book records.⁶ Since it was the purpose of the 1951 restoration to give the house the appearance it had in John Palmer's day, Harwood's filling was then removed. So were

some fragments of the sawn-off putlogs which had been in the holes ever since the house was built.⁷

CONDITION

The house was restored in 1951. A brick extension to the east built in 1857, which nearly doubled its size, was demolished, as were various wooden additions of the same period to the south. The sills of the windows of the old house, which had been lowered when the extension was built, were raised to their original height, and cast-iron pediments added to their heads were removed; dormers were removed from the roof and the walls were cleaned of paint. The structure of the house, walls and roof framing, is practically all original, apart from repairs and reinforcement. Exterior features that are wholly or mostly original include the eaves cornice (except the crown mold), the front steps (except the bottom one, whose shape was revealed by archaeological investigation), the bargeboards and cornice stops on the west elevation, and the south or back door with its hardware. All window frames and sash, the front door, the railing to the front steps, the bulkhead (authenticated by structural and archaeological evidence), and the chimney from the roof up, date from the restoration. The south porch is a reconstruction. The only notable original feature inside the house is the stair, of closed-string type with square newel posts and turned balusters.



Figure 91. THE NICOLSON SHOP FROM DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

THE NICOLSON SHOP

A shop apparently stood here through most, if not all, of the second half of the eighteenth century. Robert Nicolson, tailor and merchant, acquired the property in 1773;¹ in

1796 he insured a "Wood Store two Story 34 feet by 20 feet" upon the site.² This building is described in similar terms in insurance policies of 1806 and 1815.³ Later it became

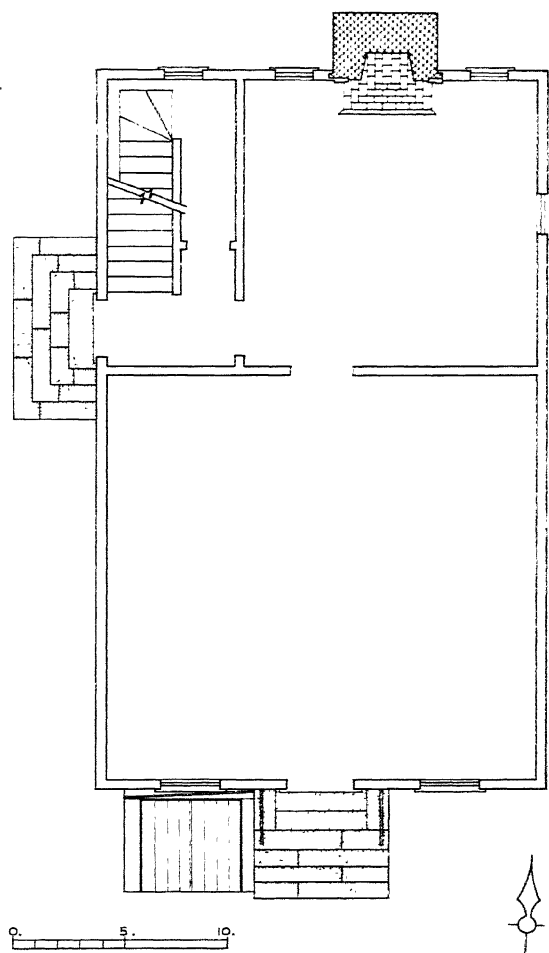


Figure 92. THE NICOLSON SHOP. Plan.

part of an L-plan house which extended to the west (the Lee House). But the framing, including the roof framing, some partitions, the fireplace and much of the stairs remained intact, to be extricated when restoration was undertaken in 1949.

The building is planned in the standard way, with the shop in front taking up most of the ground floor and the counting room and stairs behind; between them is an original glazed door. Its being of two full stories differentiates it from the other extant shops in Williamsburg but relates it to the oldest part of the Taliaferro-Cole House, which as we shall see was almost certainly built as a shop. That the upper rooms were lived in, and not used simply as storage space, is evidenced by the 1806 insurance policy, which describes the building as a "Wooden Store and Dwelling house."

CONDITION

The Nicolson Shop was restored in 1949-1950. As noted, it had been incorporated in an early nineteenth-century house, which was demolished, and enough of the structure had survived to indicate the form of the building. None of the visible work on the street front or the side elevations is original, but on the north elevation the chimney up to cornice level and the east window to the upper floor are.



Figure 93. THE AYSCOUGH HOUSE FROM FRANCIS STREET

THE AYSCOUGH HOUSE

Christopher Ayscough—he probably pronounced his name “Askew,” with the stress on the first syllable—was Governor Fauquier’s gardener; his wife Anne was the Governor’s

cook. When Fauquier died in 1768 he left Mrs. Ayscough £150 sterling “in recompence of her great fidelity and attention to me in all my Illnesses, and of the great Oeconomy

with which she conducted the Expenses of my kitchen during my residence at Williamsburg as his Majesty's Lieutenant Governor, when it was in her power to have defrauded me of several Hundred Pounds."¹ Later in that same year, 1768, Christopher Ayscough advertised that he had opened a tavern "fronting the south side of the *Capitol*," adding: "As he is provided with the best LIQUORS, and Mrs. *Ayscough* very well understands the COOKERY part, he flatters himself that those Gentlemen who may please to favour him with their custom will find every thing to their satisfaction."² Less than two years later he advertised that he intended to "leave off tavern keeping" and to sell his dwelling house "with a house adjoining, that was built for a store."³ Although no trace of any other building that could have been the dwelling house has been discovered,⁴ the present building must be the store or shop, which in 1771 was rented by Catherine Rathell, milliner, who hoped that "as it was impossible to get a House on the main Street . . . the little Distance" would "make no Difference to her former Customers."⁵ It has a typical shop plan, with the door in the west gable end, a

large front room (the shop proper) without any fireplace, and the counting room with a narrow stair to the loft behind. On the north side is a lean-to or shed, divided into two rooms with corner fireplaces. Structural indications suggested that the main building dated from the first half of the eighteenth century, and that the shed was added within a few years of its erection. The building to the north, restored as a dwelling house, is thought to have served at one time as Negro quarters; it also was built in two sections, the western one not until the nineteenth century.

CONDITION

The Ayscough House was restored in 1931. It had been much altered, and the house as it stands today is virtually a reconstruction based upon the evidence supplied by the framing and some fragments of trim which had survived. In the northwest room are some old wainscot, said to have been salvaged from a house in the vicinity (prior to the restoration), and an old mantel. The building north of the house was in even poorer shape and contains very little old material.



Figure 94. THE BRACKEN HOUSE. Francis Street front.

THE BRACKEN HOUSE

The Bracken House is named after the Rev. John Bracken, who was rector of Bruton Parish from 1773 until his death, and president of the College of William and Mary in 1812-1814. Although he owned the house,¹ there is no record of his living in it, as there is of his living in the Allen-Byrd House farther west on Francis Street.

The house stands in the part of Williamsburg that in Bracken's time lay in James City County. Since the county's records were lost

or destroyed in the Civil War, the early history of this house (among others) is poorly documented. It is shown on the Frenchman's Map and so must have existed by 1782; stylistic evidence would seem to assign it to the decade 1760-1770 at latest. With its central passages, its four rooms (two up and two down) and its end chimneys, it is a very typical story-and-a-half house of hall-passage-parlor plan. The chimneys, of T plan with set-offs on their three outer faces, are among

the most attractive of the outside chimneys in Williamsburg in both form and texture. The stair is of unusual design, combining turned balusters with a closed string.

CONDITION

In general appearance the Bracken House has always looked very much as it does today. When restoration was undertaken, in 1928, most of the structural framing was found to be in good condition, needing reinforcement only, with the exception of the roof rafters, of which about three-quarters had to be re-

placed. On the other hand the external woodwork needed extensive replacements owing to decay; the dormers were rebuilt and window sash was renewed throughout the house. A new front door, door frame, and transom light of colonial pattern were substituted for the nineteenth-century doorway that had taken the place of the original. The cornice on the street front is nine-tenths original; the chimneys are wholly so. Original woodwork inside includes all floorboards, the doors and door frames of the first-floor rooms, and the stair.



Figure 95. THE ORRELL HOUSE FROM FRANCIS STREET.

THE ORRELL HOUSE

Nothing at all is known of the early history of this house, which takes its name from John Orrell, who owned it in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The Frenchman's Map of 1782 shows what would appear to be a long, narrow building on the site. However, stylistic evidence would suggest a date in the third quarter of the eighteenth century for the present house, and there are other cases of

individual buildings not being given their true proportions on the Frenchman's Map.

In fact the house forms on plan an exact square, with sides of 28 ft.; and since the roof ridge is 28 ft. above the top of the basement wall it is contained in a regular cube. Its resemblance to the Lightfoot House is very close, and is surely due to design rather than accident. Outside, the only important differ-

ence is in the form of the gambrel roof, whose later date is indicated by the steeper slope of the upper surfaces of the roof. The difference in the planning of the interior is of a more radical nature, and may fairly be regarded as constituting an improvement. The stair, instead of occupying the rear end of the entry passage, starts near the front door, ascends against the outside wall to a half-landing, turns right, and finishes at a short landing near the center of the upper floor. This space-saving arrangement allows three rooms instead of two on the first floor and four instead of three above.

CONDITION

The house was restored in 1929-1931. It was dilapidated, but had not been greatly altered. A front porch and rear shed, both of mid-nineteenth-century date, were removed. Brickwork of basement and west chimney was patched, mended, and repointed. The framing was repaired and in part replaced. The eaves cornice on the north front is original, repaired and patched. Practically all of the weatherboards, and all window sash, were renewed; original grilles to basement windows were repaired and patched. A modern front door was replaced by the present one of eighteenth-century type with transom light, and the present steps and platform were built. Within, the stair is original, repaired, as are also the floors. Interior work generally was designed with an eye to modern convenience rather than exact restoration.

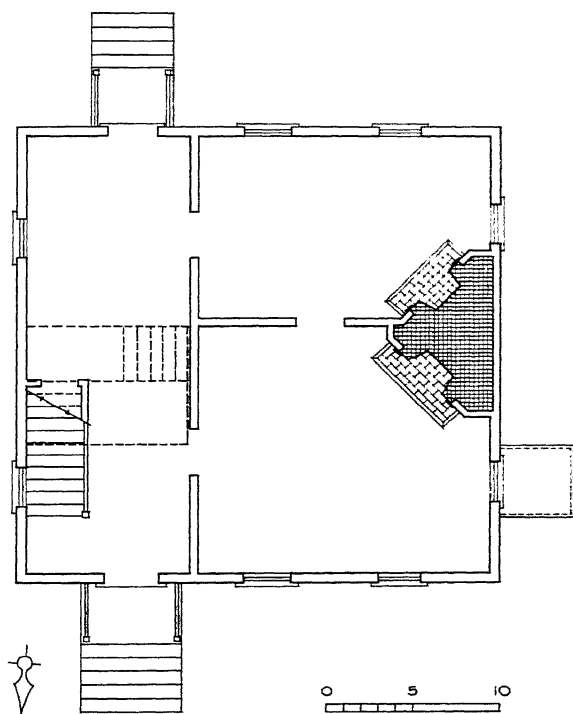


Figure 96. THE ORRELL HOUSE. Plan.



Figure 97. THE EWING HOUSE FROM FRANCIS STREET.

THE EWING HOUSE

The *terminus ante quem* for dating this house is established by its being shown on the Frenchman's Map of 1782. It may have been a quarter of a century old by then. Ebenezer Ewing was a Scot who owned the house when he made his will in 1795,¹ having "lately" purchased it from the estate of Frederick Myers. That he had been living in it for some time before his purchase is suggested by entries in Humphrey Harwood's ledger, relating to work done for Mr. E. Ewing, which go back as far as 1786.

It resembles the Orrell House just up the street in having a gambrel roof, but with shed dormers instead of gabled ones. Unlike the Orrell House and the other gambrel-roofed houses we have looked at, it is much longer than it is broad and has the front door in the middle of the front. So it is not what we have called an isolated terrace house. At the same time it has only one chimney, at the west end, completely enclosed up to the point at which it emerges from the roof, and not two but three rooms on each floor.² So it cannot prop-

erly be regarded as a story-and-a-half hall-passage-parlor house which has been given a gambrel roof for a change. Its unclassifiability may serve as a reminder that the master builders of eighteenth-century Williamsburg built for the convenience of their clients rather than for that of twentieth-century students of colonial architecture.

CONDITION

The Ewing House was restored in 1940. The original framing was retained, with renewal of decayed members and reinforcement as necessary. On the outside of the house most of

the north eaves cornice and parts of the south one were about all that remained of eighteenth-century date. The present weatherboards, window frames and sash, shutters and doors therefore date from the restoration, the weatherboards following an old sample which was found, and the location and size of the windows being determined by indications in the framing. An east chimney of late date was demolished and the west chimney (original) was taken down for the addition of fire-clay linings and rebuilt. Inside, the stair is original, with some replacements and repairs; some doors are original and floors are generally so.

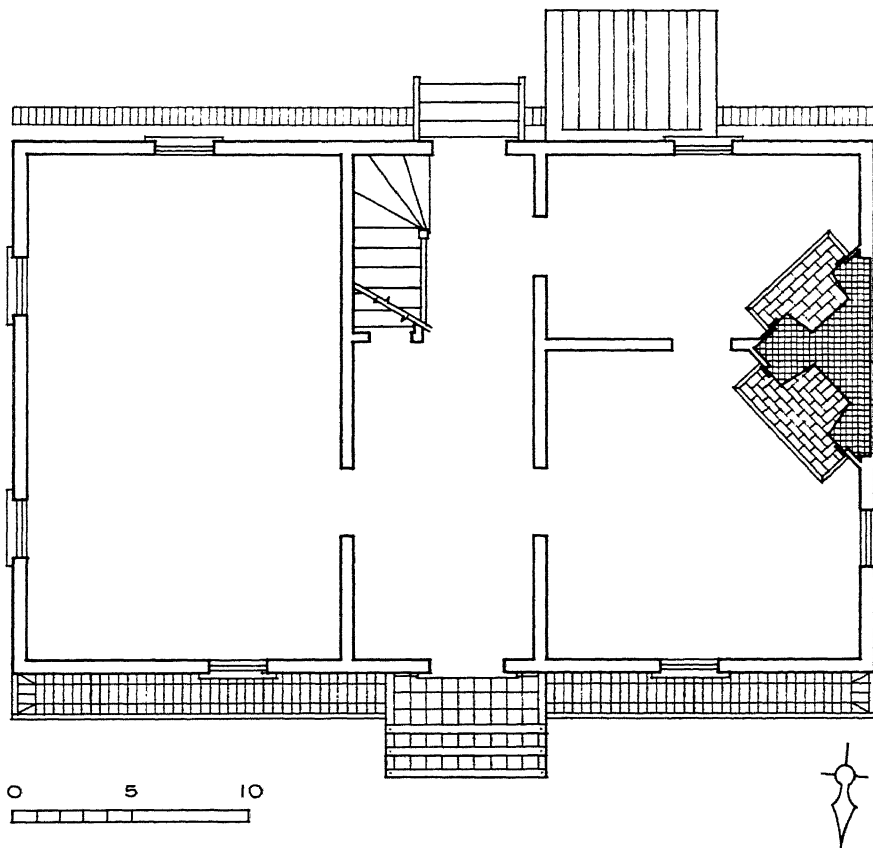


Figure 98. THE EWING HOUSE. Plan.



Figure 99. THE COKE-GARRETT HOUSE FROM NICHOLSON STREET. The eighteenth-century part of the house to the left.

THE COKE-GARRETT HOUSE

The story-and-a-half west section is the only part of the house as it stands today that is indubitably of eighteenth-century date, although the shorter east section may have been built at the very end of the century. The high center was built after 1810, during the Garrett ownership; the brick office (through which, as Dr. Robert M. Garrett's surgery, many of the wounded of both armies passed after the battle of Williamsburg in 1863) apparently about 1835.¹

John Coke, goldsmith and tavernkeeper, bought the two lots upon which the house stands from Christopher Ford, Jr., carpenter, for £32 current money in 1755.² He already owned three lots, with a house upon them, immediately to the east.³ The deed recording his new purchase does not mention any buildings upon the two lots, nor does any earlier deed relating to them. When he died in 1767 there were "houses" upon his five lots.⁴ One of them must have been the house upon the

Figure 100. THE COKE-GARRETT HOUSE.
Stair railing in the western part of the house.



eastern three lots,⁵ another the house that now forms the west section of the Coke-Garrett House, which therefore may be dated within the twelve-year period 1755-1767.

Measuring 40 ft. by 18 ft. on plan, this is a typical story-and-a-half house with two rooms and a passage on each floor. The railing of the porch (one of the few eighteenth-century porches to have survived in Tidewater Virginia) gives a foretaste of the best feature indoors—the Chinese trellis stair railing. Several such stair railings were installed in Virginian houses in the third quarter of the eighteenth century; so far as the design of the panels of trellis is concerned, this one closely resembles that of Weyanoke, twenty-five miles west of Williamsburg in Charles City

County, in which, however, the handrail runs into the caps of the newel posts.⁶

CONDITION

The Coke-Garrett House was partially restored in 1928 and 1932. Final restoration occurred in 1960. The following relates to the eighteenth-century (west) section only. On the south elevation most of the weatherboards are new; basement wall and porch are original, rebuilt; cornice, windows, and dormers are original, repaired where necessary; the front door and the shutters are original. Visible work on the north elevation is mostly new, since there was a lean-to or shed here, demolished in 1932. Inside, all doors, all floors, the stair, and some trim are original.

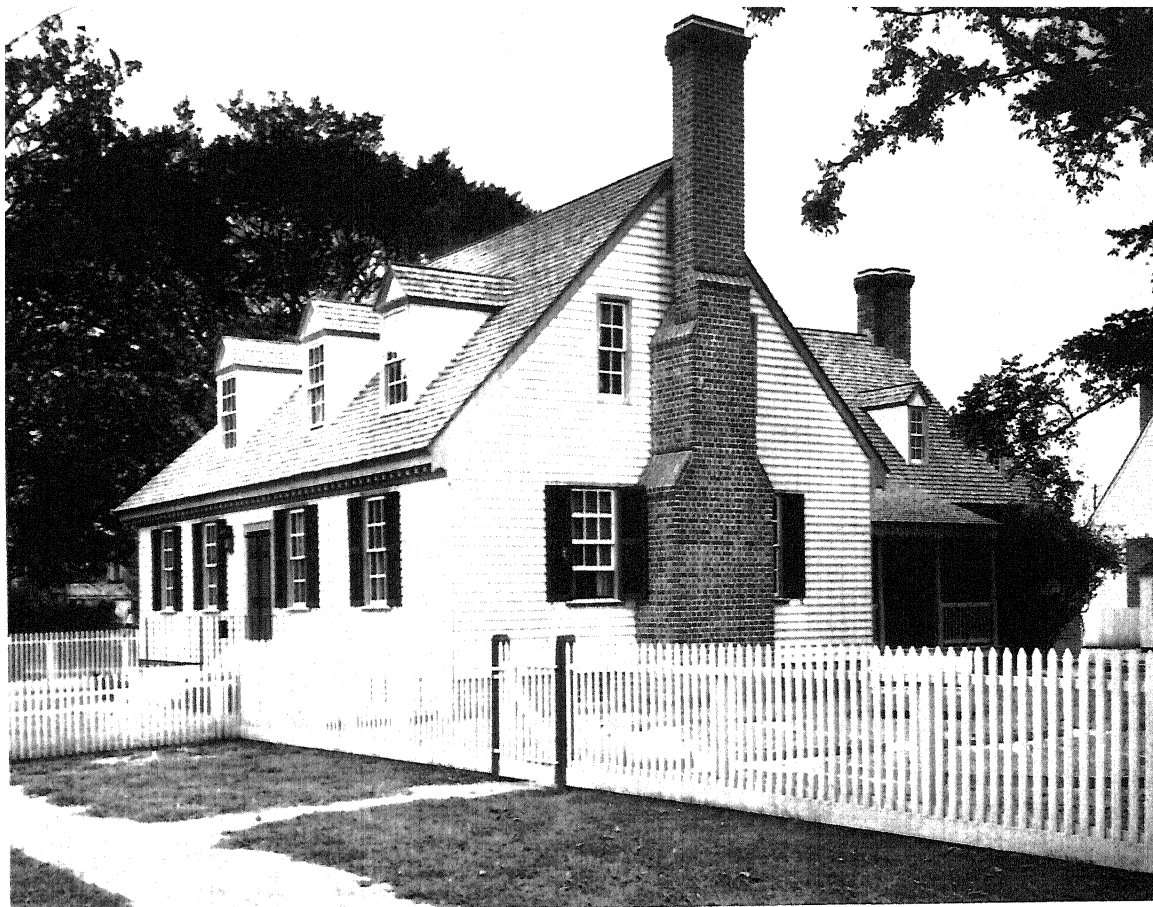


Figure 101. THE POWELL-WALLER HOUSE FROM THE SOUTHWEST.

THE POWELL-WALLER HOUSE

Like the Benjamin Waller house facing the other end of the street upon which it stands, this is an L-plan dwelling. But here the upright of the L, which extends to the rear of the part lying parallel to the street, came first, and is of brick instead of wood. This brick portion was doubtless standing when Benjamin Powell, who has been treated of earlier in these pages, bought the property in 1763.¹ By 1782, to judge from the Frenchman's Map, the front, frame portion had been added. In that year Powell sold the

house,² which in 1791 became the property of Benjamin Carter Waller,³ son of Benjamin Waller, from whom Powell had purchased the site in the first place.

The brick house originally had three rooms (one being the kitchen) and a small stair hall on the ground floor, with a laundry or scullery or perhaps the carpenter's shop in the single-story projection to the east. It faced south, towards that part of Waller Street which ran east and west.⁴ At some date, probably late in the eighteenth century, the

Figure 102. THE POWELL-WALLER HOUSE
BEFORE RESTORATION.

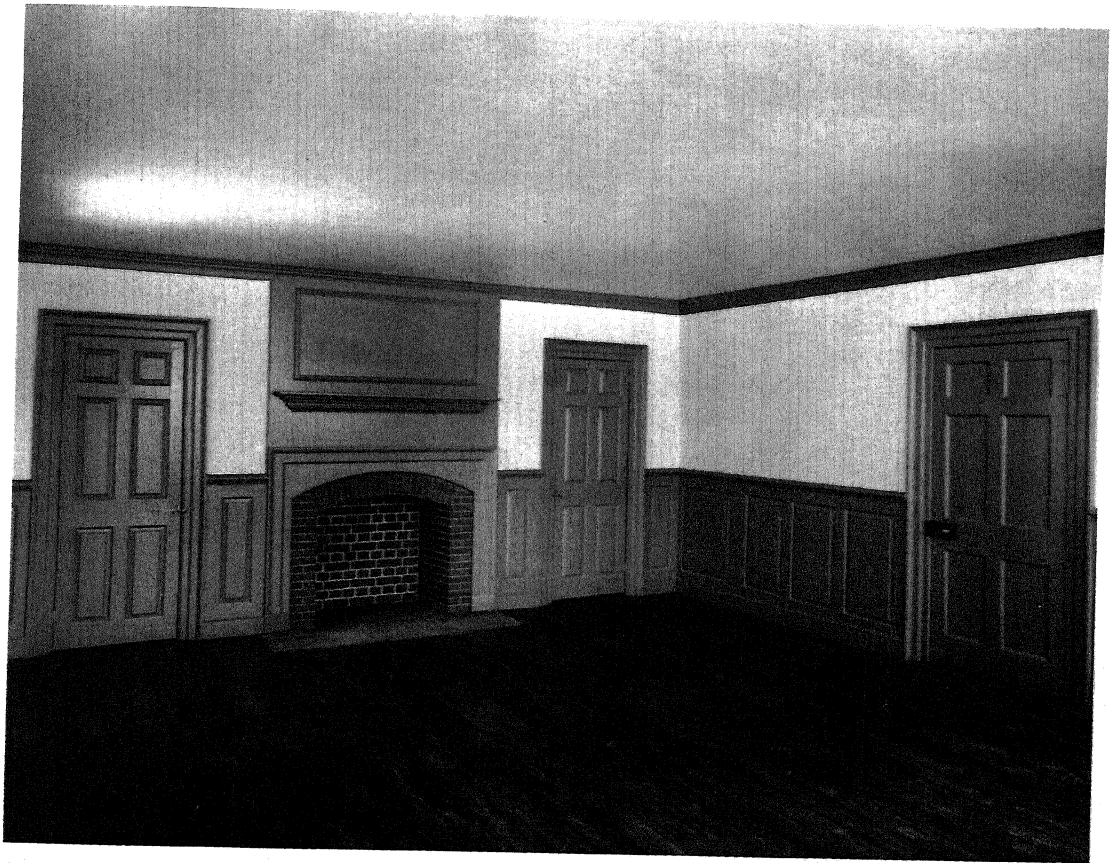


Figure 103. THE POWELL-WALLER HOUSE.
The northwest room.

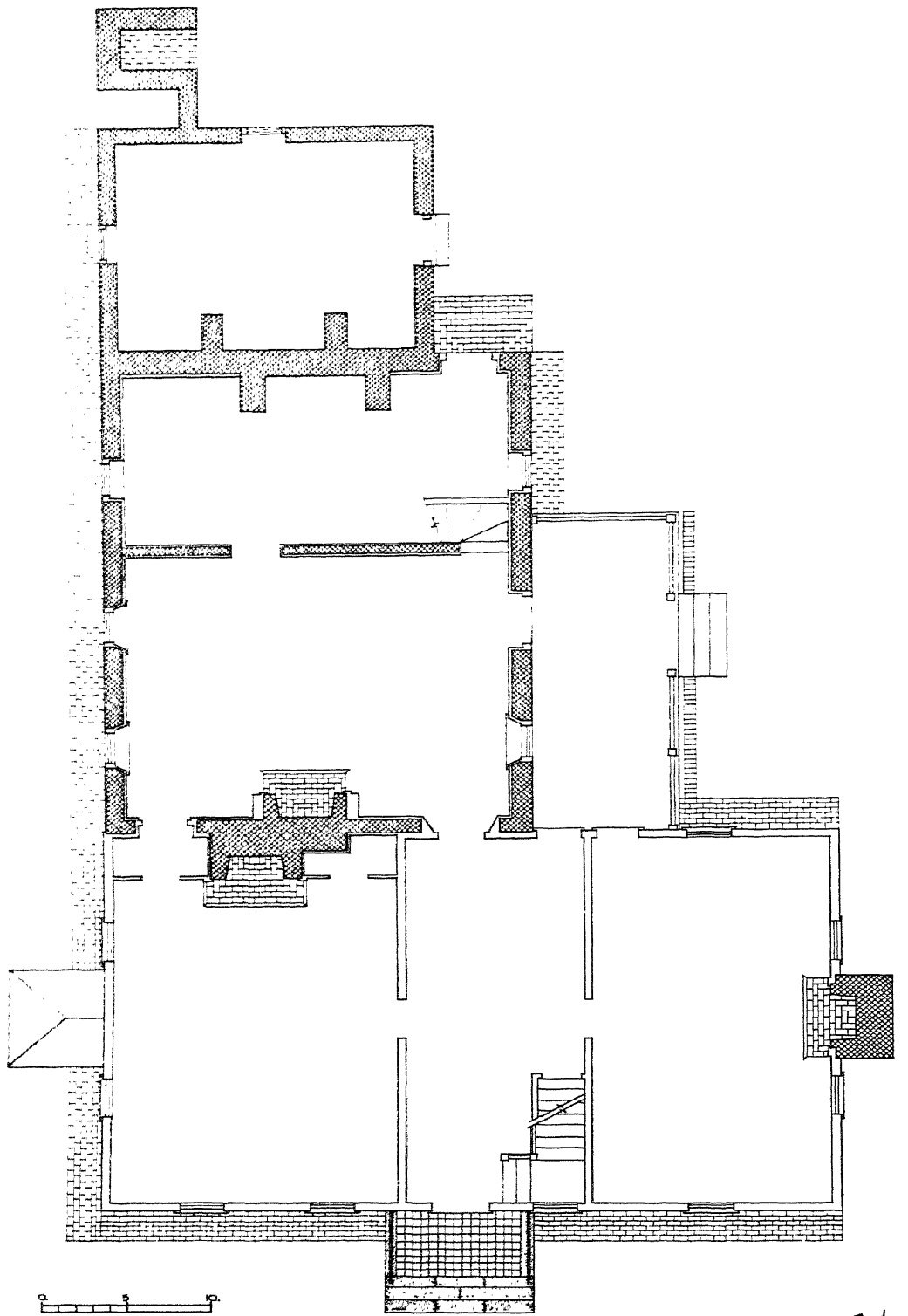


Figure 104. THE POWELL-WALLER HOUSE. Plan.



Figure 105. THE POWELL-WALLER DAIRY.



Figure 106. THE POWELL-WALLER DAIRY
BEFORE RESTORATION.

two western rooms, which had angle fireplaces served by the central chimney to the west,⁵ were thrown into one, in which a paneled dado, of mid-eighteenth-century character and clearly brought from elsewhere, was installed. The wooden front portion of the house is of the common plan-type having two rooms and a central passage on each floor. The north room has a paneled dado similar to that in the west room of the brick portion, and like it evidently brought from elsewhere; it also has a wooden cornice and a mantel with a shelf enriched with dentils and a molded panel above. The passage and the south rooms have plain dados with molded chair rails; of the stair only the balusters are original.

The earliest mention of the temple-form brick office facing the street south of the house occurs in a deed of 1814, when it was a "Doctor's Shop."⁶ It may be compared with the very similar though apparently rather later office, also used by a physician, at the Coke-Garrett House nearby. Other old out-

buildings are the smokehouse, the dairy, and the kitchen. The first two may have been built by the end of the eighteenth century, though nothing beyond their brick walls was of any age when their restoration was put in hand. The kitchen is of a considerably later period—certainly no earlier than the second quarter of the nineteenth century; it was kept and restored as a building in the eighteenth-century tradition even though not of eighteenth-century date.

CONDITION

The house and outbuildings were restored in 1955-1956. In the nineteenth century the house had acquired a second story and a two-story piazza along the street front. All this was removed. Everything above the eaves cornices, together with the cornices themselves, is therefore new. Weatherboards are new, except on the south gable of the frame portion, where all the usable old weatherboards were collected. Both the sash and the frames of the north windows in the frame

portion are original; other sash is new. The east outside door in the frame portion is original. The single-story projection at the east end of the brick portion was reconstructed on the original foundations. The porch in the re-entrant angle between the brick and frame portions was added as a feature of convenience for the life tenant. The stair had been

rebuilt in the rear part of the passage in the nineteenth century; it was moved forward to its original position, the balusters (which were the only part of the eighteenth-century stair that had survived) being retained and re-used. There is a fair amount of early paneling and trim, as noted above; some of the inside doors and some flooring are also original.



Figure 107. THE CHARLTON HOUSE FROM DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

THE CHARLTON HOUSE

The history of the lot upon which this house stands is obscure at many points. At one time it belonged to William Byrd II of Westover, and it is possible that the "store at Williamsburg" that he mentions in his diary as belonging to him and Richard Bland stood here.¹ There was a warehouse upon the lot in 1750, when it was referred to in a deed as having "formerly belonged to the late Colonel William Bird."² Structural evidence, in the plan and the brickwork of the basement, indicates that the foundations of a smaller build-

ing—this warehouse, no doubt—were re-used when the house took its present form. This it must have done by 1782, when a house of the right size is shown on the Frenchman's Map; probably it did so before 1772, the year in which, as it would seem, Edward Charlton, wigmaker, paid a considerable sum for the property.³ In the course of the nineteenth century the house was bisected along its east-west axis, the southern half being taken down to ground level; various additions were then tacked on behind. So the front half of the

house as we see it today is the original, restored, while the rear half is a reconstruction upon the original foundations. It has a well-mannered but unremarkable street elevation and a plan of which the chief departure from orthodoxy is in the placing of the stair, in an alcove to the west of the rear portion of the passage instead of in the passage itself.

CONDITION

The Charlton House was restored, and its southern half reconstructed upon the old

foundations, in 1929-1930. Original features retained, with necessary repairs, included the basement walls, the front eaves cornice, all weatherboarding on the street front and some on the west, exterior trim and sills of second floor windows on the street front, the front door and several other doors, ground-floor framing and some second-floor framing, floorboards in three rooms and ground-floor passage, paneled dado in northwest room on ground floor. New work included roof, chimneys, stairs, sash, and window frames.

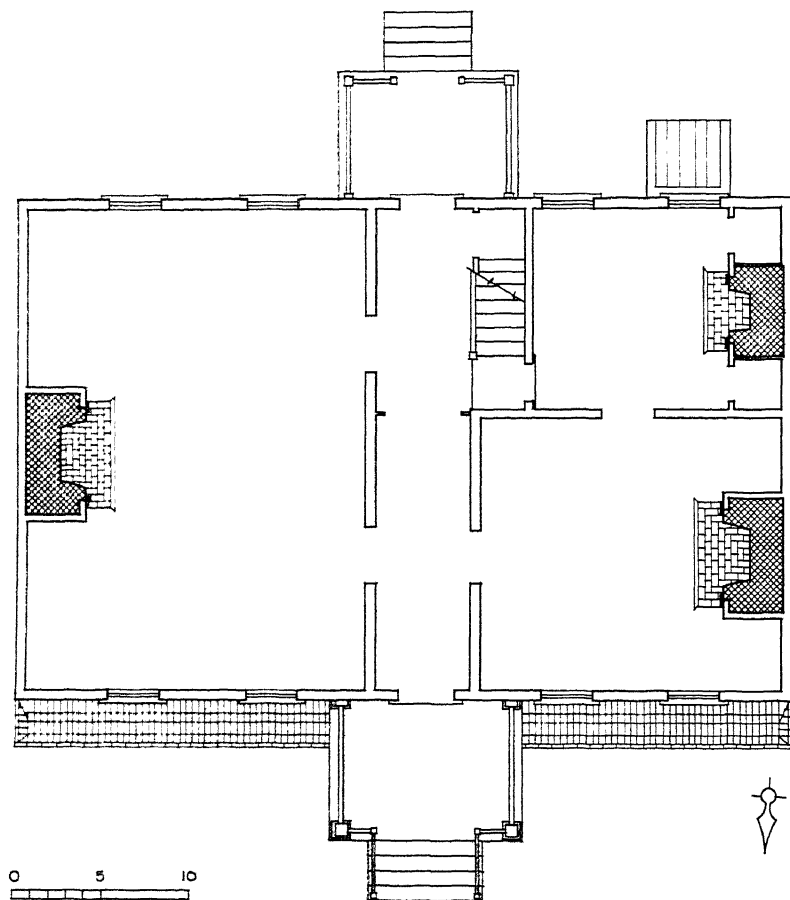


Figure 108. THE CHARLTON HOUSE. Plan.



Figure 109. MARKET SQUARE TAVERN. The parlor.

MARKET SQUARE TAVERN

The site of this building, originally part of Market Square, was first leased to a private occupier by the trustees of the city of Williamsburg in 1749 and 1750—in two parts.¹ The lessor, John Dixon, built a store upon it. A subsequent lessor, James Craig, a tailor, took lodgers in his house here, which then, in 1767, he opened as a licensed public house.² In 1770, having determined “to discontinue tavern keeping,” he advertised it in the *Virginia Gazette*, describing it as “very well calculated for publick business, being in the centre

of the city, and every convenience to it for a tavern.”

There are fine cellars, and an exceedingly good stable for thirty horses, with a large fodder loft, a very good kitchen, with a room adjoining, a large and strong smoke-house, at one end of it a place for people to sleep in, an excellent well of water, and a good garden. There is likewise a very good shop, on the main street, which might be converted into three or four lodging rooms, and there

is a cellar under it. The house might be made much larger, at a very trifling expense, by taking in a store. at one end of it, which rents for £20 a year.”³

The house was sold in the following year, 1771, to Gabriel Maupin, who shortly after purchasing it announced in the *Gazette* that he was “making considerable Additions and Improvements, for the purpose of KEEPING TAVERN” and that he was moving his shop to the same place and would continue to carry on “the SADDLERY and HARNESS MAKING Business . . . in all its Branches.”⁴ Maupin continued owner until his death, which occurred about 1800.

As restored and in large part reconstructed, Market Square Tavern consists of a two-room-deep, story-and-a-half house parallel to the street, with two small buildings forming a lower and narrower wing at the west end. Its chief feature is the northeast room, known as the parlor, which retains the original wainscot in natural pine. As the photograph of

this room stripped of the wainscot for restoration shows, the framing is unusual, with studs at 1 ft. centers.⁵

CONDITION

Market Square Tavern was restored in 1931–1932. Late in the nineteenth century the main range was lowered 2 ft. by the removal of the top courses of the basement wall and a second story was added; at the same time a southeast wing was built. The small buildings which have been reconstructed to form the southwest wing had already disappeared. A couple of original windows survived at the rear to supply the model for the new ones in the restoration, and the rear elevation was faced with old weatherboards, which were removed to the street front and constitute the only old work there visible. In the northeast room or parlor, wainscot, wooden trim, one door, and floorboards are original, but door furniture is not; the mantel is old, but not original to the house. There are some other original doors in the house.



Figure 110. THE ALLEN-BYRD HOUSE. The north front.

THE ALLEN-BYRD HOUSE

The Allen-Byrd House stands some way behind the street building line, as did the no-longer-extant house of John Custis on France Street. This suggests that there was a house here before the building line on the "back streets" was established, or perhaps even before Middle Plantation became Williamsburg. The house itself—rather surprisingly, in view of the Georgian regularity of its exterior—was found when its restoration was undertaken to have some peculiar features which

are not easily explained. These include heavy floor framing timbers, mortised for the studs of partitions, crossing from back to front on both floor levels at dead center—showing that at one time the doors in the north and south walls must have been off center—and the remains of fireplaces, which would have been unusable with the present hipped roof, in the attic.

Whatever may be the explanation of these peculiarities, it seems probable that the house

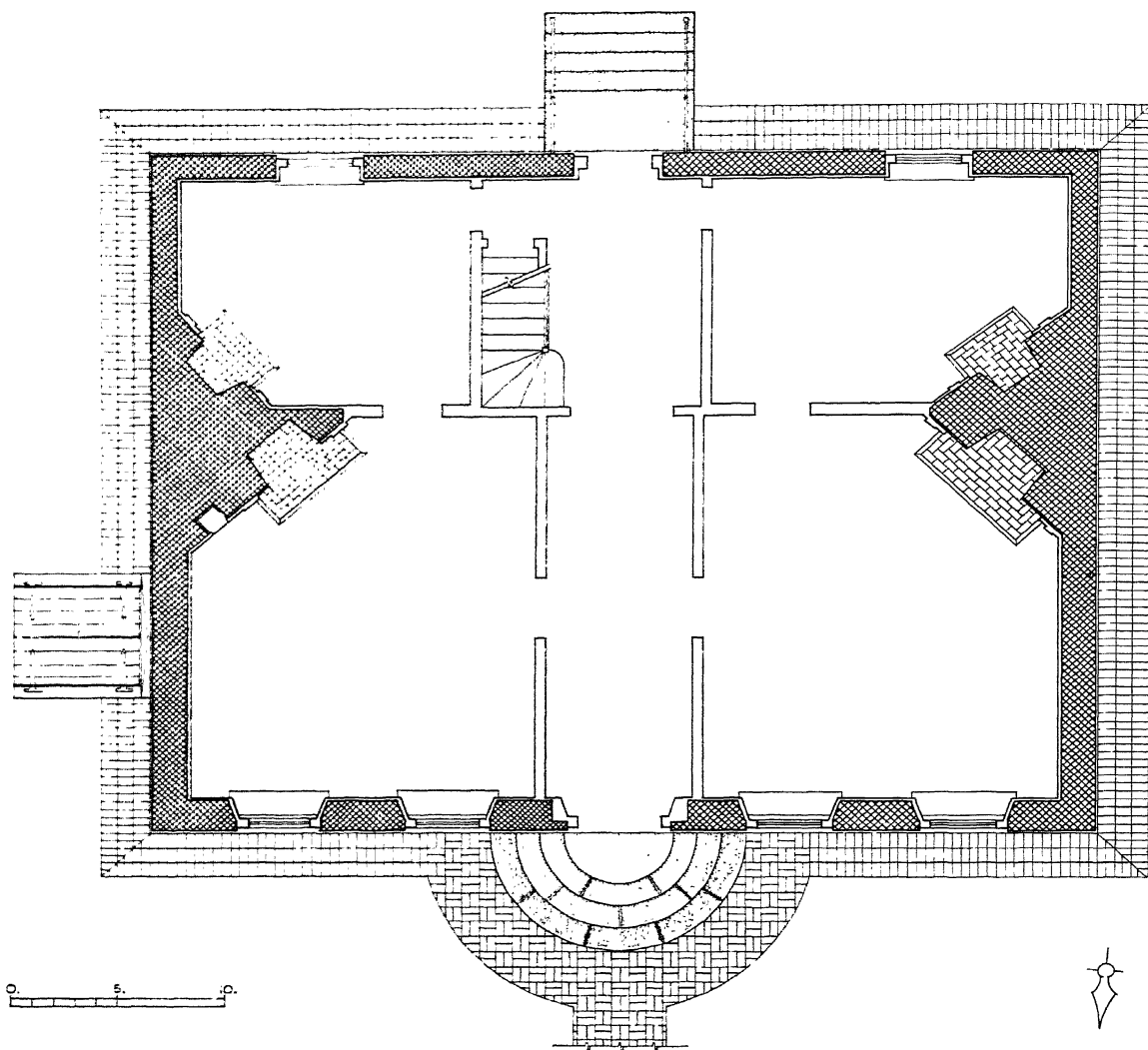


Figure 111. THE ALLEN-BYRD HOUSE. Plan.

at one time resembled the Ludwell-Paradise House in general form; that is to say, that it was only one room deep, with a single-story shed along the rear elevation. This is to be inferred from the presence in the basement of a longitudinal brick wall, of the same thickness as the north wall, and from the fact that the walls to the south of it are thinner than those to the north.¹ By 1770 the house had been given its present form, as we know from an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*:

Surrey, March 26, 1770

To be SOLD at seven years credit, or longer if required, A SQUARE of 8 lots in the city of Williamsburg, with the following improvements, a new brick dwelling-house, with four rooms below and three above, a good kitchen, grainery, and stables, with every other house necessary for a family, also a well of good water. The lots are all inclosed, and the garden well paled in; the situation is near the College, and very pleasant. The premises may be seen by applying to Dr. James Carter, and may be entered upon the 1st of May next. The price will be made known by

WILLIAM ALLEN²

This William Allen was one of the richest men in Virginia; he owned Claremont Manor and at one time Chipokes too, both in Surry County, which he represented in the House of Burgesses in 1758-1761. The records that might have told us when he acquired the property have been destroyed, but the description of the house as "a new brick dwelling-house" makes it clear that he had rebuilt it quite recently, while the absence of any visible breaks in the brickwork testifies to the thoroughness of that rebuilding. The pur-

chaser was William Byrd III, of Westover. Byrd evidently availed himself of the credit terms offered by Allen, for his will, made in 1774, contains the direction "that my house in town be sold & a thousand pounds of the money be applied to pay Mr. William Allen for it, & the overplus to the payment of my Debts."³ After Byrd's death in 1777 the building was advertised for sale as a brick house with four rooms on *each* floor.⁴ The upper floor had evidently been subdivided again since the house was advertised in 1770. At the time it was occupied by the Rev. John Bracken, who kept a school in it (attended, incidentally, by the sons of Humphrey Harwood, the bricklayer), and Bracken continued to rent it from the new owner until, in 1786, he purchased it himself.

In one of the advertisements that followed Byrd's death the house was described as "well known,"⁵ and one can easily believe that its fame was due to its being one of the most elegant houses in Williamsburg as much as to the prominent position occupied by its late owner in the life of the colony. Unfortunately, practically all the interior trim which must have contributed to that elegance disappeared long ago.

The handsome front which the Allen-Byrd House presents to Francis Street differs from the front of any other brick house in Williamsburg in respect of the window-to-wall ratio; to an eye accustomed to the Ludwell-Paradise and Wythe Houses it may seem rather over-windowed. And alone of Williamsburg buildings it has a molded belt course, instead of a simple platband, at upper-floor level. The present balcony dates from the restoration; the existence of a balcony in the eighteenth century was indicated by holes in the wall, the larger size of the central window,

and the omission of the belt course over the front door.

CONDITION

The house was restored in 1940-1941. Only the walls, the eaves cornice, and the framing of the roof, floors, and partitions were of eighteenth-century date. The walls were

cleaned of paint and repaired and patched where necessary; late windows in the east and west elevations were filled in; the chimneys were rebuilt from the level of the cornice. The steps to the front door were built to a plan indicated by old foundations; their design follows the north steps of the Brafferton, at the College of William and Mary, which are original.



Figure 112. THE SEMPLE HOUSE FROM FRANCIS STREET.

THE SEMPLE HOUSE

In a letter written in 1809 St. George Tucker called this "the handsomest house in town."¹ It is Williamsburg's sole surviving example of the classicism that began to change the American architectural scene towards the end of the eighteenth century—and a very distinguished one.

James Semple, the lawyer and judge after whom the house has been named, acquired it in 1800, insuring it and all its outbuildings for the sum of \$2,000.² That the house

then looked just as it does today is attested by a sketch of the street front upon the insurance declaration. That it and the other buildings on the property were by no means new may be inferred from the statement in the same declaration that they would have cost \$4,000 to build at that date, the deduction of \$2,000 being due to decay or bad repair. This inference is supported by the evidence of the Frenchman's Map, which shows that a house of the same proportions on plan stood upon



Figure 113. THE SEMPLE HOUSE. North elevation.

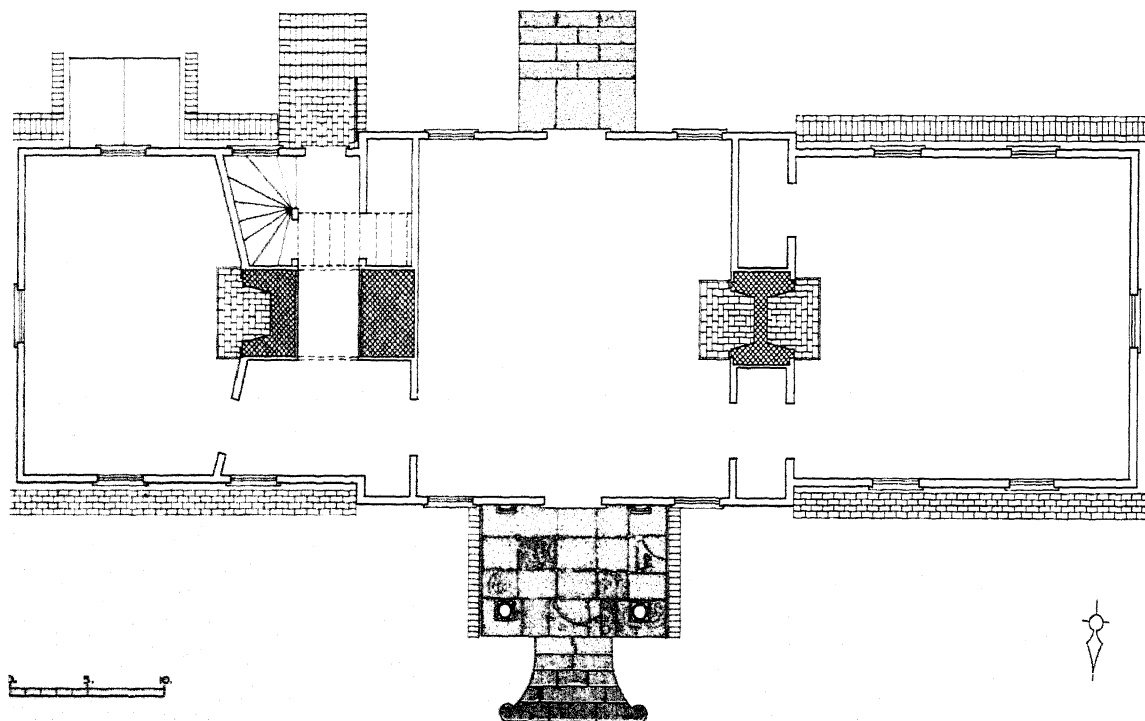


Figure 114. THE SEMPLE HOUSE. Plan.

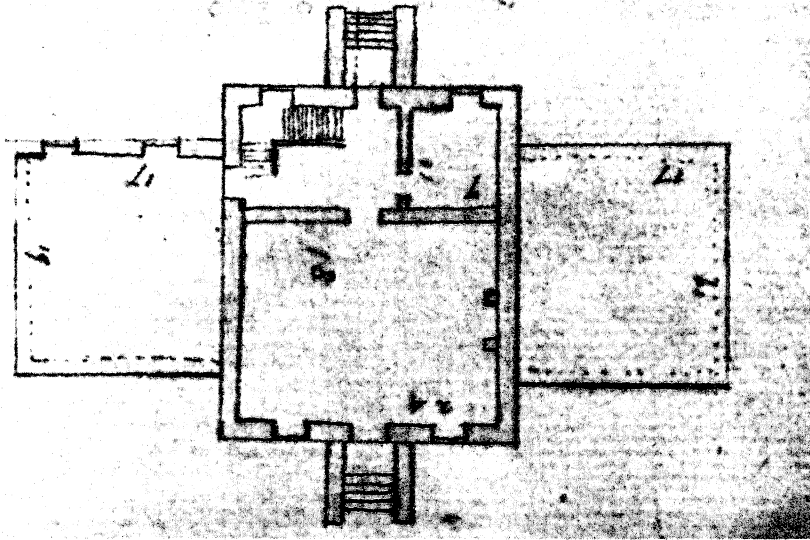


Figure 115. PLAN OF A HOUSE, CLOSELY RESEMBLING
THE SEMPLE HOUSE, BY THOMAS JEFFERSON.

the site in 1782. And it has been confirmed by the archaeologist's spade, which by failing to reveal signs of earlier foundations upon the site has proved that the house shown on the map can be none other than the present one.

The year 1782, then, is the *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the house; stylistic evidence makes it unlikely that it was built much before the Revolution. (Indeed, between 1773 and 1777 Dr. William Pasteur, a prominent physician and apothecary of Williamsburg, built a house on this site.) The individuality of the design coupled with its quality and the fact that it seems to have been imitated outside Williamsburg, poses the question of attribution more insistently than in the case of any other house in Williamsburg. Thomas Jefferson has been put forward as its author—by Waterman among others³—and the possibility that he was cannot be dismissed. However, the case for attributing the design to

Jefferson must rest mainly upon a drawing in the Coolidge collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.⁴ Can this drawing (Fig. 115), a plan in ink and pencil, be a preliminary study for the house? Its representing a brick building is not really evidence to the contrary, for Jefferson had a poor opinion of frame houses and the choice of material would not have been his, but the owner's. Most significantly, although the dimensions and proportions of the individual parts differ in the two plans, their total areas are exactly equal. It will be found that the plan of the Semple House is an elongated version of that drawn by Jefferson, the length of each wing being increased by as much as the projection of the central pavilion on each front is reduced. Yet the use of lead pencil in the drawing presents a difficulty, for there is no authenticated instance of the use of this medium by Jefferson in an architectural drawing before his stay



Figure 116. THE ROWE,
CHARLES CITY COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

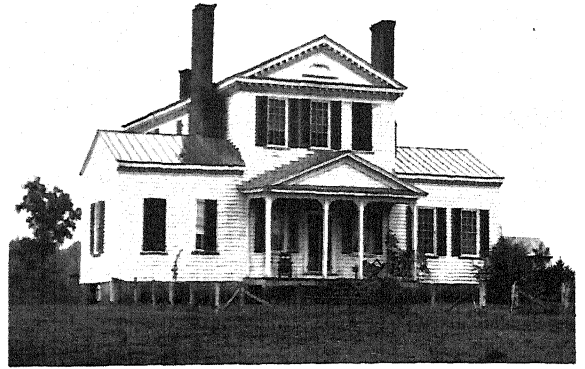


Figure 117. FORTSVILLE,
SOUTHAMPTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA

in Europe in 1784–1789⁵—and the Semple House must have been built, as we have seen, by 1782.

A design in Robert Morris's *Select Architecture* (a book which Jefferson is known to have possessed and used) has been proposed as the prototype of the Semple House.⁶ The resemblance between the two is increased if the porch of the Semple House, which structural evidence proves to have been an addition made after the completion of the building (though it was there by the time of the 1801 insurance declaration), is ignored. On the other hand, the resemblance is diminished if the sills of the upper floor windows are lowered to the level that structural evidence shows to have been theirs before the addition of the porch necessitated their raising. Another published design having something in common with the Semple House is to be found in William Halfpenny's *Useful Architecture*.⁷ But perhaps it is a mistake to look for a specific prototype; the high pedimented center with lower wings having roofs at right angles to the roof of the center is a scheme that is implicit in many Anglo-Palladian designs, and it may be that it has merely

become explicit here owing to its adoption for a relatively small house and the exigencies of building in wood. This consideration should make one chary of regarding all houses that repeat the *parti* of the Semple House as imitations of it.⁸ However, Fortsville (Fig. 117) in Southampton County, Virginia—which was built between the years 1792 and 1794 by Lewis Fort—may be one, and so may The Grove in Halifax, North Carolina, which was built by a personal friend of Jefferson.⁹ Two other houses of the type in North Carolina, which probably derive from The Grove rather than from the Semple House itself, are the Williams-Reid-Macon House, near Airlie, and the Junius Tillery House, at Tillery, both in Halifax County.¹⁰ Nearer Williamsburg, The Rowe in Charles City County could well be indebted for its final form to the Semple House (Fig. 116); but in this case one of the wings is earlier than the center, whereas the other houses mentioned were each built in a single campaign.

Some of the detail of the Semple House is of a kind found nowhere else in Williamsburg. The guilloche on the architrave of the porch could have been taken from the *Build-*

er's Companion of William Pain, published in London in 1765, and the same book might have inspired the fret on the mantel in the west room. The latter is the most architectural room in the house, with a wooden dado which breaks forward under the windows and a full modillion cornice.

CONDITION

The Semple House was restored in 1932. About 1900 a fire had destroyed part of the roof of the central pavilion, including the facing of the tympanum of the north pediment. But in general the fabric was mostly original and it remains so today, except for necessary replacements and reinforcement and the renewal of all interior plaster. A south extension to the central pavilion (built, as insurance policies show, between 1806 and 1823) was removed during the restoration, and the east and west windows, which had been closed up, were reopened; the east chimney was rebuilt from the upper floor level. The steps to the front porch, which were much broken down, were rebuilt, and columns were restored to the porch in place of

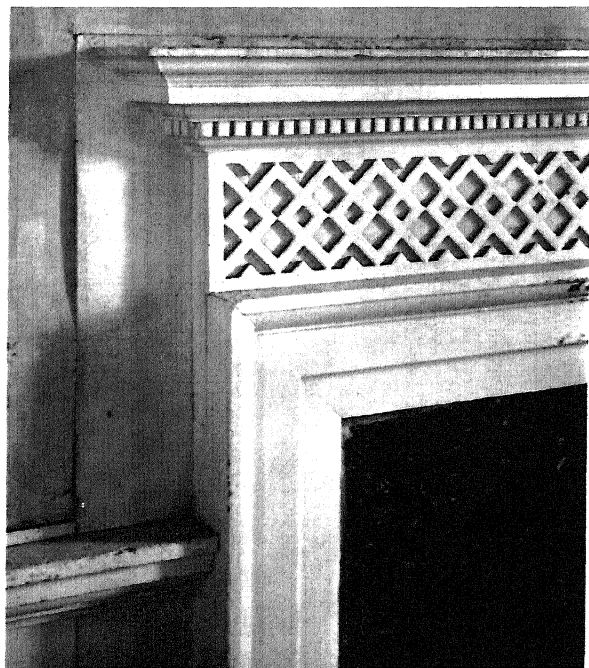


Figure 118. THE SEMPLE HOUSE.
Detail of mantel in west room.

the square piers which had replaced the original columns. The guilloche on the architrave of the porch was restored after the evidence of traces of the original.



Figure 119. THE BARRAUD HOUSE FROM FRANCIS STREET.

THE BARRAUD HOUSE

It is possible that this was once a smaller building with a plan of the same kind as the Lightfoot and Tayloe houses, but the evidence, which includes its representation on the Frenchman's Map as a square building, is far from conclusive. In any case it would seem probable that the house was given its present form some years before 1796, when it was first insured as a "wooden dwelling house one story high 46 feet by 33 feet."¹ Its owner in 1796 was Dr. Philip Barraud, who had been born in Virginia in 1757 and

after the Revolution, in which he saw active service, had studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh. He was visiting physician at the Williamsburg Public Hospital from 1795 until 1799, when he moved to Norfolk.² Barraud was already living in Williamsburg in 1783, for in November that year entries against his name began to appear in Humphrey Harwood's ledger.³ Whether these relate to the house under consideration we have no means of knowing, though it seems more likely than not that they do.

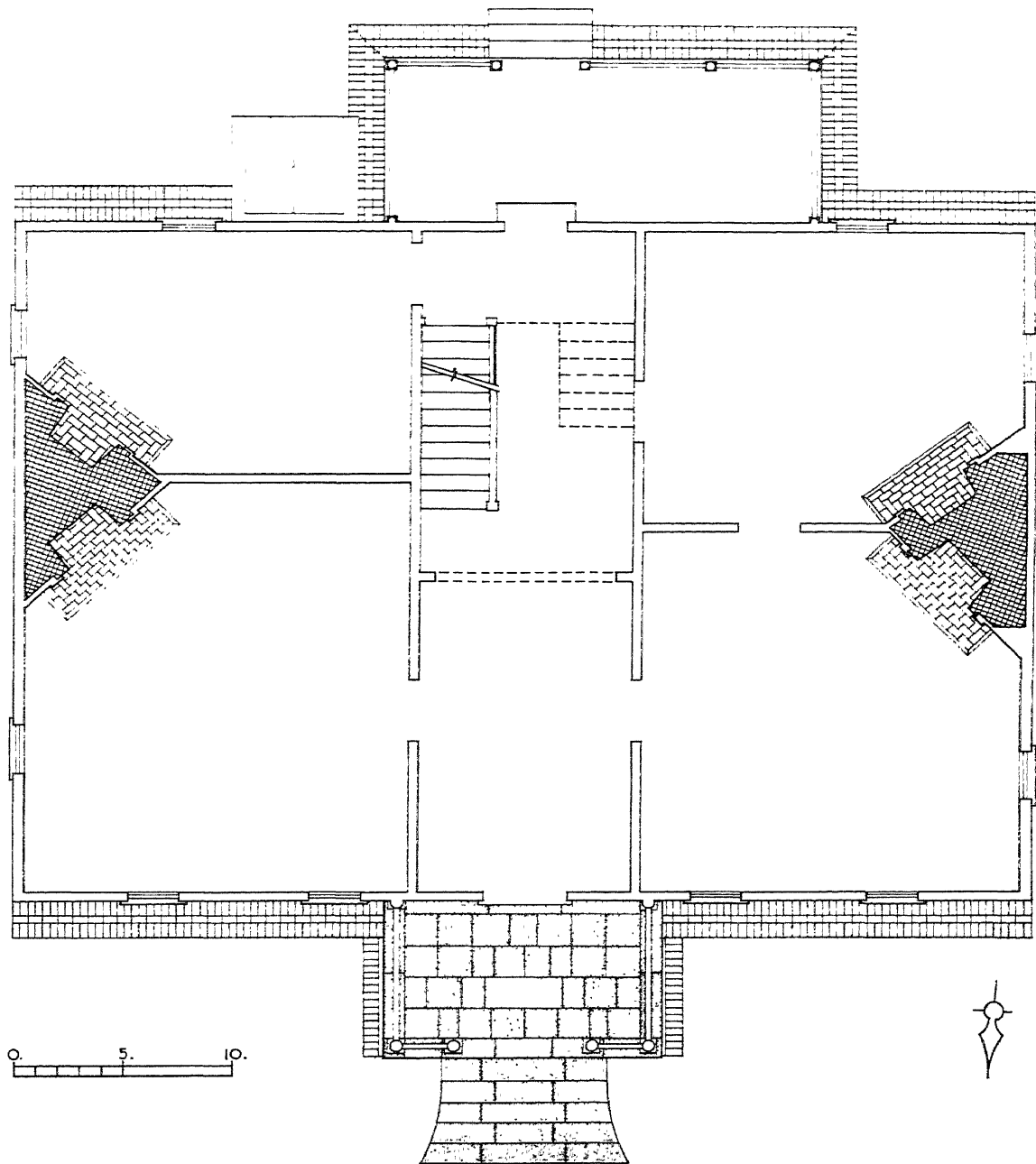


Figure 120. THE BARRAUD HOUSE. Plan.

The house is atypical in several respects. On plan it is much deeper in relation to its length than other story-and-a-half A-roof houses in Williamsburg. This may be due to its having once been a unit-house with two rooms on each floor. Matters of detail in which it departs from the norm are: the placing of both end chimneys within the walls; the difference of rake between the dormer roofs and the main roof (42° against 45°); the molding of the window sills and of the frames and mullions to the basement grilles. Original features inside include most of the doors, in some cases with their furniture, a couple of mantels, paneled dados in one ground-floor room and the ground-floor passage, and some other trim (but not the stair, which is a reconstruction).

CONDITION

The Barraud House was restored in 1942. Nineteenth-century porches were removed

from the front and rear. The present porches were then built to conform to old foundations and traces of the original porches against the walls and roof. Eaves cornices are original, repaired as necessary, weatherboards new. New window sash and trim follow the design of original windows which survived in the gable ends. Basement grilles are mostly new, following the design of remains of the original grilles with the peculiarities noted above. Shutters are new; chimneys were rebuilt above the roof ridge. Considerable remains of brick gutters for carrying away the rainwater from the roof were found on the south front. Within, floors and a fair amount of woodwork and hardware, as noted above, are original. In reconstructing the stair, structural indications were followed, while the removal of paint on a wooden post against the west wall of the passage on the upper floor revealed the profile of the original baluster and handrail.



Figure 121. THE ST. GEORGE TUCKER HOUSE SEEN ACROSS NICHOLSON STREET FROM THE SOUTHWEST.

THE ST. GEORGE TUCKER HOUSE

While the compact Wythe House represents Williamsburg domestic design at its most formal, the Tucker House, with its long-drawn-out plan, varying roof line, and many gables, represents it at its most picturesque. Its nucleus was a story-and-a-half dwelling, measuring 40 ft. by 18 ft. on plan, which until 1788 stood a little way to the northwest, facing Palace Street.¹ In that year St. George Tucker had it moved to form the center of the present house. Between then and 1795 he

added a second story to it and built the lean-to on the north, the wings to the east and west, and the kitchen with its covered way to the west again.

The carpenter who moved and repaired the old house was John Saunders,² who also, with Robert Saunders and William Pigget, undertook the woodwork of the additions, the three working for Tucker under individual agreements. The bricklayer who built the basement and chimneys in 1788-1789 was



Figure 122. THE ST. GEORGE TUCKER HOUSE.
Paneled east room in central portion.

Humphrey Harwood, and William Harwood was responsible for brickwork after his father's death in 1789. Many of the building accounts have survived, as well as Humphrey Harwood's agreement and an exceedingly informative agreement (*see* Appendix II) between Tucker and one Jeremiah Satterwhite concerning the painting of the house in 1798. As scraping has verified, Satterwhite did apply the colors Tucker specified; according to the agreement, therefore, the various parts of the exterior have once more been painted straw color, yellow ochre, chocolate, dark brick color, Spanish brown, stone color, and pure white. Another surviving agreement, by which William Harwood undertook "to fill in the sides of S. G. Tuckers house with brick bats plaistered in clay, and to cover the same," has been commented upon earlier in these pages.³

In the accounts the lean-to on the north side of the central section, which contains on the main floor what has come to be known as the "great hall," is unromantically, but in accordance with eighteenth-century usage, referred to as the "shed"; an account rendered by William Pigget in 1791 shows that some lead was used upon its roof. The kitchen with its much admired and indeed admirable chimney is a reconstruction; besides the foundations and the building accounts, the architects had a photograph of the original kitchen and the recollections of the then owner of the house, Mr. George P. Coleman, to guide them. The covered way is also a reconstruction, with its arches filled in as a measure of modern convenience.

St. George Tucker, "the American Blackstone," was born at Port Royal, Bermuda, in 1752, and came to Virginia to enter William and Mary in 1771; he studied law at the Col-

lege under George Wythe, whom he succeeded as professor of law in 1790. He was a judge of the state General Court in 1785-1803, of the Supreme Court of Appeals in 1803-1811, and of the United States District Court from 1813 until his death in 1827. By his first marriage, to Frances Bland in 1778, he became the stepfather of John Randolph.

CONDITION

The house was restored in 1930-1931. Just a hundred years before, the west wing had been lengthened to take in the original covered way, and the first-floor windows of the center had been increased from two to four. More recently the original kitchen had been replaced by a two-story structure upon the original foundations, necessitating the reconstruction of this end of the house. In other respects the house had been little altered. The framing was reinforced and replaced where necessary; the brick nogging had to be removed during this process but was put back. The chimneys of the center were rebuilt above the roof. All eaves cornices on the old parts of the house, except that on the north side of the west wing, are original and repaired only. Many of the weatherboards are original, especially on the center section, and the end boards and bargeboards of the center section are original. All first- and second-floor windows on the south side of the center section are original; most of the other windows, including all dormers, are new; all shutters are new; the front door is original. Floors in the old parts of the house are generally original, and there is paneling in the first-floor east room of the central section which must be coeval, or nearly so, with that earliest part of the house.



Figure 123. THE TALIAFERRO-COLE HOUSE SEEN ACROSS DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET FROM THE NORTHWEST.

THE TALIAFERRO-COLE HOUSE

Structural, archaeological, and documentary evidence concur in indicating that this house was built in two sections—the western 22 ft. at an undetermined date, probably in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and the eastern 18 ft. between 1815 and 1830.

In its first, unextended form it was a unit-house,¹ with a depth 6 ft. greater than the length of the front on Duke of Gloucester Street. The entrance was in the middle of that front—that is to say, between the two western

windows of the present front—and led straight into the large front room. At the back of this room, on the axis of the front door, a door gave into the stairhall at the back of the house, with a small room to the right. Upstairs were two rooms, corresponding in depth to those below, and a passage running the full depth of the house. From the first the house was of two full stories, but in its original form it was covered by a low-pitch gable roof, with the ridge parallel to Duke of Gloucester

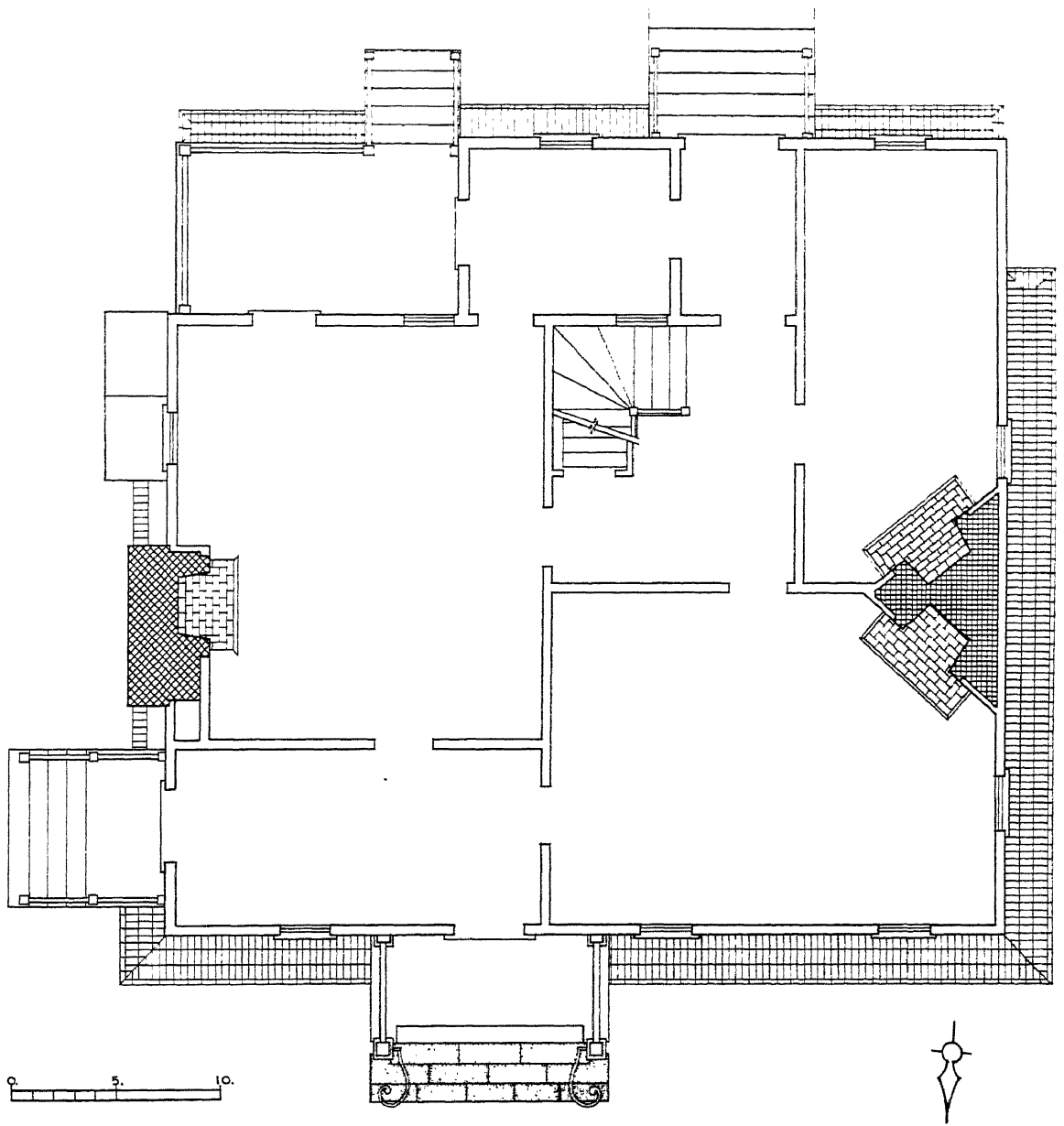


Figure 124. THE TALIAFERRO-COLE HOUSE. Plan.

Street. Most probably the large front room on the ground floor was a shop; this would account for the placing of the front door and for the nonprovision of direct access from it to the stair, at a time when other unit-houses were being built in Williamsburg with the side passage of the London terrace house, and would also account for the carrying up of so small a house two full stories. The southwest room on the ground floor would have been the counting room. Whether Charles Taliaferro, chairmaker, coachmaker, and general merchant, who seems to have acquired the house in the 1760's, ever used it as his shop does not appear; by 1782 he had built the shop to the east at which we shall look in a moment.

The evidence of the insurance policies that enable us to date the eastern extension between 1815 and 1830 is supported by a drawing made by Charles Millington in 1834,² which shows the house in its present form. (One small addition, the southward enlargement of the southwest room under a shed roof, had been made before then, to judge from structural indications.)³ The asymmetry of the north elevation was forced upon the builder

of the addition by circumstances beyond his control; he spaced the new window and door openings to give it what balance he could, and he provided a spacious entrance hall in an attempt to counteract the inconvenient placing of the stairs.

CONDITION

The house was restored in 1940-1941. A south extension was demolished and a columnar Doric porch removed from the street front. Most of the exterior is old and original, including the weatherboards, the eaves cornice (probably of both building periods), nearly all the windows with their sash (of both periods), shutters (of the second period), and corner boards. The chimney caps, basement grilles, and the north porch date from the restoration. The last was reconstructed according to the evidence of the Millington drawing, the excavated foundations, and the paint line of the original pilasters, cornice, and roof as revealed by scraping the weatherboards. The south porch was added as a feature of convenience. Inside, the stair is original, as are also floors, a number of doors, and paneled wainscot in the northeast room.



Figure 125. THE TALIAFERRO-COLE SHOP.

THE TALIAFERRO-COLE SHOP

The earliest known mention of this building dates from 1782, when Charles Taliaferro advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* that he had "an assortment of lines, shoes, saddles, bar iron, a few boxes of candles, nails and brads, and a large SEINE almost new" for sale "at his store opposite the Church wall."¹ In the same year the building was shown on the Frenchman's Map. Examination of the framing prior to restoration confirmed the inference to be drawn from the form of the street front and the breaks in the brick bond of the foundation walls: namely, that there had been two building periods. (In fact it showed work of three periods in the building as it then stood, with a



Figure 126. THE TALIAFERRO-COLE SHOP BEFORE RESTORATION.

late rear portion which was demolished.) An insurance policy proves that the west, or shed, section had been added by 1809.² Much of the building is clearly seen in the drawing of 1834 referred to in connection with the Taliaferro-Cole House, but a signpost which hides its northwest corner leaves open the question whether the roof had the overhang to the west with which it has been restored. Structural indications of this feature were lacking, but there was precedent for it, and it would have been a logical means of sheltering

the well, which evidently antedated the shed addition.

CONDITION

Much of the original structure, with the addition referred to above, was hidden until 1940 behind a false front added in the later nineteenth century. Its condition was so poor, however, that a large measure of reconstruction was necessary. Among the original features that were retained was the bulkhead ironwork.



Figure 127. WETHERBURN'S TAVERN FROM DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

WETHERBURN'S TAVERN

Henry Wetherburn, tavern-keeper, built the eastern section of this building by 1743.¹ About ten years later, the better to house his thriving business, he added a western extension.² The junction between the two sections is marked on the front façade by a beaded cornerboard close beside the west doorway and a break in the brick foundation directly below the cornerboard.

The earlier part of the building had a typical plan: a stair passage in the center and two rooms, one behind the other, on each

side. The only unusual feature of the plan was the location of the chimneys, which provided fireplaces on short diagonal walls at the interior corner of each first floor room. This first building had a jerkin head roof, and when the western addition was built the same roof form was followed. Where the newer roof framing abutted the older, the framing for the first jerkin head was left in place. Architectural investigation revealed that the framing of each section of the building is so similar in detail and arrangement as

to indicate that the same builder was responsible for both. When a shed room added to the rear of the first building was investigated, several courses of the original, round-butt, juniper (white cedar) shingles were found in place on the rear roof, where they had been covered and protected by the new roof. These were used as precedent for the cement asbestos shingles used on the restored building.

CONDITION

The building was restored in 1966–1968. The framing is almost entirely original, although reinforced. The brick foundation walls are largely original, patched and repaired as necessary. A few original beaded weather-

boards remain on the rear façade, but the porch across the rear is entirely reconstructed, as are both front porches. Most of the first floor sash of the western addition is original; the rest have their details copied from the remaining originals. The front cornice is largely original, as is the rear door to the western addition.

Inside the tavern the flooring is almost all original, as is some trim, a few doors, and the top portion of the marble surround to the Great Room fireplace.

The dairy building in the service yard behind the tavern retains its original framing, but the rest of the outbuildings, including the kitchen with its huge fireplace, are reconstructed on their original sites.

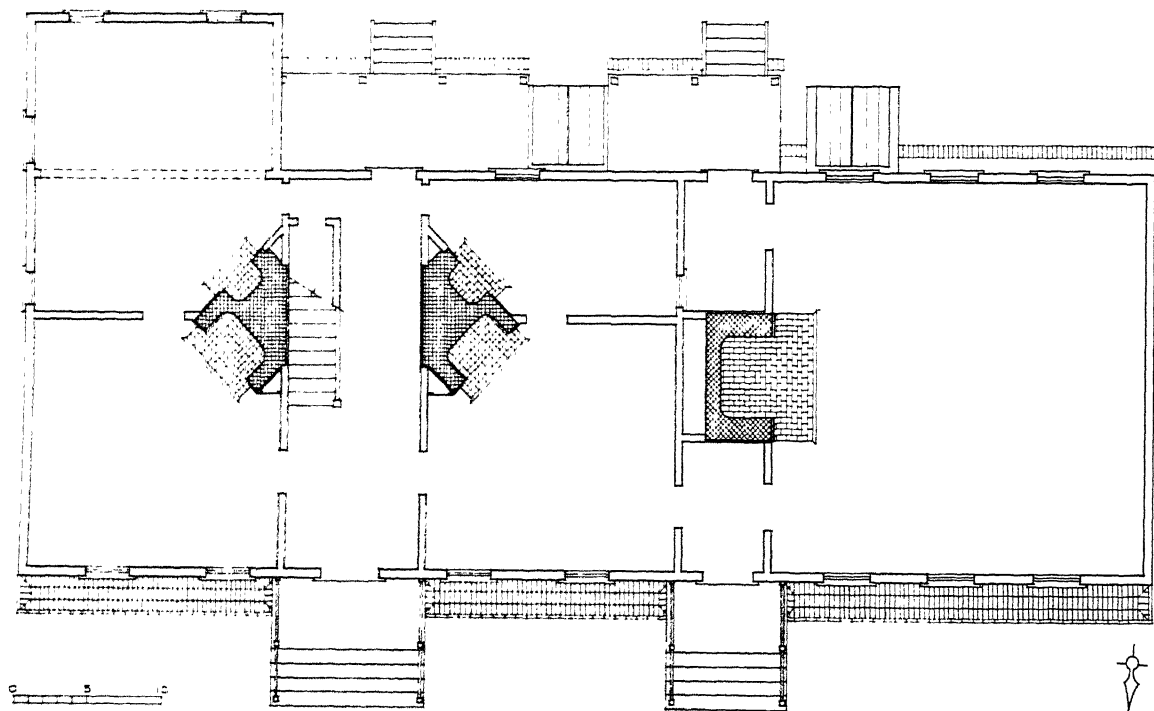


Figure 128. WETHERBURN'S TAVERN. Plan.



Figure 129. THE TRAVIS HOUSE, ONCE MORE ON ITS ORIGINAL SITE.

THE TRAVIS HOUSE

Near the west end of France Street on the north side is the Travis House, standing at last in its original location after much wandering about town. Before its transfer to Williamsburg Holding Corporation in 1928, this house had served as the residence of the superintendent of the Eastern State Hospital.¹ In 1929 it was moved to a site on the south side of Duke of Gloucester Street, opposite the James Geddy House, and restored. In 1951, it was moved to the south side of France Street adjacent to the Griffin House; and again moved in 1968 to its present site.

The Travis House is a long, gambrel-

roofed structure of timber with a brick end (a rarity in Williamsburg) to the west. It was built at different times in various sections, differentiated on the street front by perpendicular boards that were originally corner boards of their respective sections.

The west portion of the house is the earliest, dating from about 1765.² Later additions were made during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century.³ The house was owned and occupied by Champion Travis, and his sons Samuel and Robert, from about 1797 to 1830.

CONDITION

Further restoration was undertaken after the house regained its original location. The frame was reinforced throughout the first floor and partially on the second. New foun-

dation walls and new entrance steps were built in accordance with archaeological evidence, and the chimney tops above the roof were reconstructed. In much of the interior the woodwork is original, but the space has been adapted to current use as offices.

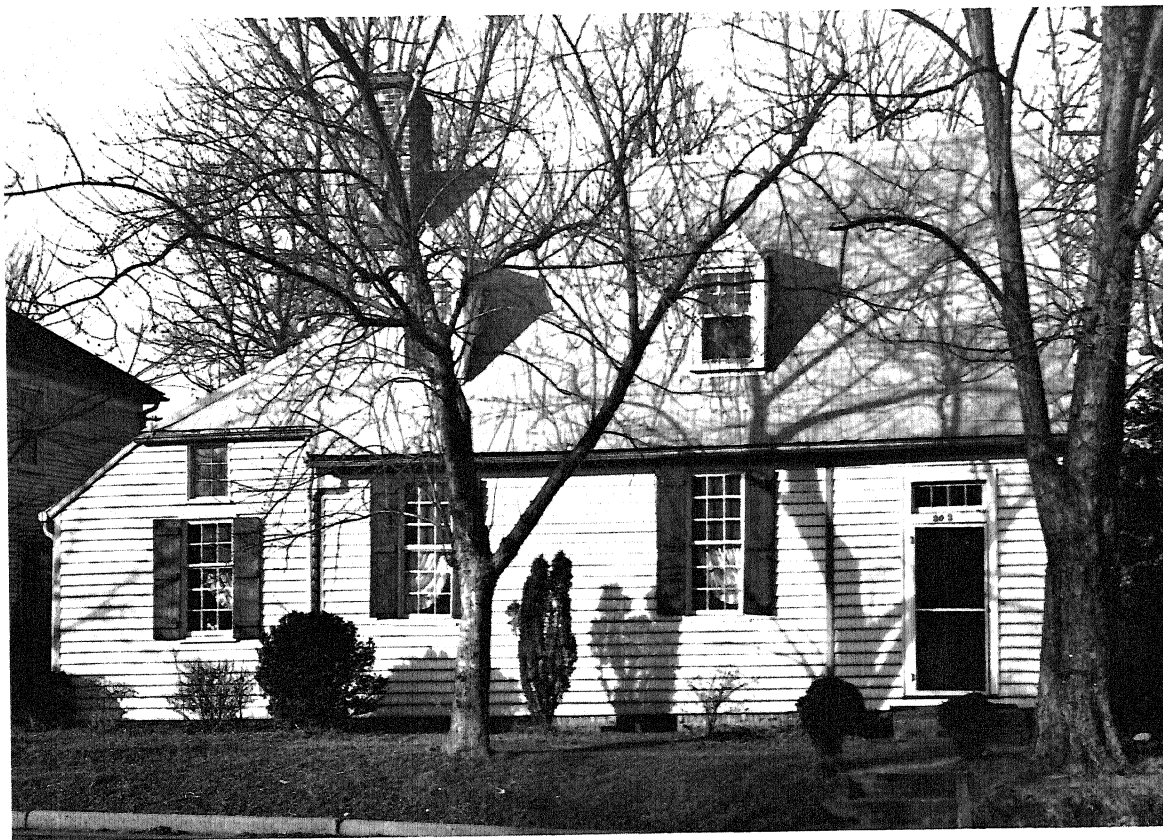


Figure 130. THE TIMSON HOUSE FROM PRINCE GEORGE STREET.

THE TIMSON HOUSE

There are a dozen or more eighteenth-century houses within the limits of the present city of Williamsburg that are either privately owned or, though the property of Colonial Williamsburg, lie outside the Historic Area. Some are immigrants from other localities; others are native to the town, though not all have always occupied the sites they do now. To round off this account of the eighteenth-century houses of Williamsburg, the most important of those in the second class, i.e., those native to the town, must now be noticed, in the presumed order of their construction.

The oldest, in all probability, is the Timson House on the corner of Prince George and

Nassau streets. In 1715 the trustees of the city of Williamsburg deeded this lot (and two others on the main street) to William Timson, a planter, and it would appear that he built a dwelling house on this lot within the next two years.¹ In 1717 the lots and the buildings on them were sold by Timson to James Shields, a tailor.² In 1745, as we have seen already, this house became the property of James Wray, prosperous "Carpenter & Joyner" of Williamsburg.³

The Timson House is a building of small size and simple detail, owing in part to its early date of construction. It has not been restored.



Figure 131. THE NICOLSON HOUSE ON YORK STREET.

THE NICOLSON HOUSE

On York Street at the eastern edge of town stands the Nicolson House. It was built by Robert Nicolson, Williamsburg tailor and merchant, whose shop on Duke of Gloucester Street we have looked at already.

Nicolson built his dwelling house around 1751-1752 on a lot purchased for £10 in 1751 from James Speirs, a cabinetmaker, who had purchased it from Benjamin Waller the previous year.¹ Here Nicolson lived until his death in 1797.

The Nicolson House was built in two sections, the eastern portion being the earlier.

This original section, with its double pile, side passage plan and gambrel roof, must have appeared much as a contemporary Williamsburg dwelling, the Tayloe House (Fig. 81), does today. Added during the late eighteenth century, the west wing increased the street front to its present 5-bay, almost symmetrical, façade.

The Nicolson House has a great deal of its original trim still intact. The building was partially restored by a previous owner. Now owned by Colonial Williamsburg, it awaits comprehensive restoration.



Figure 132. THE POWELL-HALLAM HOUSE, NOW LOCATED ON TYLER STREET.

THE POWELL-HALLAM HOUSE

A house now outside the Historic Area which has been mentioned before in these pages (and shown, in *Fig. 9*, in its unrestored state) is the Powell-Hallam House on Tyler Street. This is the house that the wheelwright and carpenter, Benjamin Powell, is thought to have built for himself on lot 30, by York Street, at some time between 1753 and 1760. For £10 Powell purchased this plot of land near the Capitol from Benjamin Waller, who had subdivided land which he purchased from Mann Page of Rosewell.¹

The Powell-Hallam House is a handsome member of the same family as the Lightfoot

and Orrell Houses, an isolated terrace house with a gambrel roof. Much of the original woodwork is still in place, the most distinguished aspect being the pilastered archway in the stair passage.

In 1928, in order to make way for a bypass road around Williamsburg, the Powell-Hallam House was moved from its original location to a site on Francis Street and restored. It was moved again, to its present site, in 1954, as a result of a decision that the Historic Area should contain only houses that stood there in the eighteenth century, or reconstructions of them.



Figure 133. BASSETT HALL SEEN FROM THE NORTHWEST.

BASSETT HALL

Standing well back from Francis Street near the southeast corner of the Historic Area is the plantation house known as Bassett Hall. It occupies part of a large plot of land owned by the Bray family as early as the seventeenth century.

Philip Johnson, burgess for King and Queen County in 1752-1755 and 1756-1758, apparently built the present structure about 1760.¹ In 1782, when the Frenchman's Map was drawn, the house consisted of the present north section, a two-story frame structure with end chimneys, and a short wing pro-

jecting to the south. Restoration of the house and its three original outbuildings was undertaken in 1928 but not finished until 1932, hindered in part by a fire that destroyed the roof and much of the interior of the house in 1930.

Notable architectural features of Bassett Hall include the cornice, with both modillions and dentils, and the second floor windows, with segmental heads on the north section of the house. These last are a feature shared, it would seem, by no other frame house in the neighborhood.



Figure 134. THE GRIFFIN HOUSE FROM THE NORTHEAST.

THE GRIFFIN HOUSE

The Griffin House, which has not been restored, is a story-and-a-half high and two rooms deep—a rather uncommon combination in A-roof houses in Williamsburg. It is like a slightly larger version, in brick, of the Barraud House.

The house derives its present name from that of its earliest documented owner, Samuel Griffin, a member of the Continental Congress. He acquired the house about 1778, shortly before his marriage to Elizabeth Braxton, whose father, Carter Braxton, was a Virginia signer of the Declaration of Independence.¹ However, the house was undoubtedly built by a previous owner some time about the year 1770.

Several aspects of the interior of the Griffin House may be noted. The principal main-floor room contains a handsome corner buffet with an arched opening and curved rear inside wall. The capacious central passage, which runs the full depth of the house, has a wide and well-designed stair that provides an easy rise to the second floor. The pilastered archway in the side wall at the rear of the stair passage is unique in Williamsburg. It provides access to a narrow passage and small corner room beyond. In the west bed-chamber above is found an interesting and rather grand chimney piece embellished with a carved, diaper-patterned, basket-weave frieze.



Figure 135. THE JAMES GALT HOUSE, NOW ON TYLER STREET.

THE JAMES GALT HOUSE

Next door to the Powell-Hallam House on Tyler Street is another much-traveled house datable to the middle of the century, the James Galt House. It stood originally on what became part of the Eastern State Hospital grounds. Given by the hospital to Williamsburg Holding Corporation in 1929, the house was moved first to a site on Duke of Gloucester Street, opposite Bruton Parish Church. Like

its neighbor, and as a result of the same decision, it came to Tyler Street in 1954.

The James Galt House began as a 16 x 20 foot single-room unit, not unlike the John Blair House, Levingston Kitchen, and John Coke Office. An atypically located room at the chimney end of the house and a lean-to addition at the rear result in its present size and picturesquely irregular shape.

Appendixes
Notes and Index

APPENDIX I

Excerpts from the Harwood Account Book

THE FOLLOWING are two excerpts from the account book of Humphrey Harwood, bricklayer, and his son William. They relate to work done for, and materials supplied to, William Hunter and William Pasteur by Humphrey Harwood in 1776-1778. As noted earlier in these pages, the Harwood account book, now in Colonial Williamsburg Archives, was discovered by S. P. Moorehead in 1930 in the attic of a modern outbuilding behind the George Reid House.

Mr. William Hunter	Dr.
1776	
October 23	
To 500 bricks 13/9. 20 bush ^s of lime 15/- a Grate w ^t 74½ lb. @ 7½ d	£ 3 · 15 · 3
To Altering a Grate 6/3 by B.B. to laying a harth & Seting up a Grate 10/-	16 · 3
To lay ^s 2 harth 5/- & fixing a Grate 7/6. 18 bush ^s of lime @ 9d & 1½ d ^o hair 2/3	1 · 8 · 3
To mend ^s Larthing & plastering 22/6 & 5 days labour @ 2/-	1 · 12 · 6

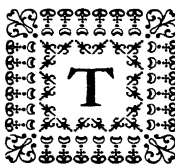
To Whitewashing Chamber & parlour 7/6 & 4 other Rooms & a passage @ 3/9	1 · 6 · 3
To mend ^s Oven & Ash House 2/- to 200 larths 2/- & A bushel of hair 1/6	5 · 6
To cash lent you at Major Hornesby's to pay for a bowl & 2 Muggs 7/-	7 · -
November 25	
To half a Dozen Walnut Chairs 90/- & A Mahogany tea table 36/6	6 · 6 · -
1777	
February 1	
To 8 days labour @ 2/- Clean ^s bricks. (8th). 15 days labour 30/- dig ^s Celler	2 · 6 · -
[February] 15	
To 22 d ^o lab ^r @ 2/- Cart ^s 4 loads of Sand 8/- 140 bus ^s lime @ 9d	7 · 17 · -
To 3750 bricks @ 27/6. (20th) to 4000 D ^o @ 27/6. & Cart ^s 1 load of Sand 2/-	10 · 13 · 1½
[February] 20	
To building Celler walls 100/- & 9 days labour @ 2/- & Carting a load Sand 2/-	6 · 0 · -

		Doct ^r William Pasteur	Dr.
March 17		1777	
To 100 bushels of lime @ 9d.		January 4	
10000 bricks @ 27/6: 21 days		To 8 bush ^s of lime @ 9d p ^d	
la ^r @ 2/- & 5 lo ^{ds} Sand @ 2 -	20 · 2 · 0	Oversear for D ^r up the Coun-	
[March] 22		try & a line 6/-	£ - · 12 · -
To building kitching Chimney		June 16	
& Oven 65 - & build D ^o to		To a Set of harrow howes 30/-	
Dwell ^r House 80, -	7 · 5 · -	(August 23rd) to 1½ days Cart-	
May 11		ing @ 15/-	2 · 12 · 6
To 20 bush ^s of lime 15/- 230		October 14	
bricks @ 29. ½ bu ^l whitew ^h		To 1 day Cart hier 15/-	15 · -
9d. & Set ^s a Grate with Rub ^d		1778	
bricks 20/-	2 · 2 · 3	February 28	
To turning 2 trimers & lay-		To 1 days Cart hier 40/-	
ing 2 harth 10/- & 1 Days la-	12 · -	(March 2nd) To 1 d ^o Carting	
bour 2 -		plank to farm 40/-	4 · 0 · -
[May] 15		March 2	
To 1800 larths 22 6 to 2 bush-		To 200 bricks 3/- 12 bushels of	
els of hair 4/- & 20 d ^o lime	2 · 3 · 6	lime @ 1/6. (4th) To 500 D ^o	
15/- & 1 load Sand 2/-		25/- Carting them to Farm	
To Larthing and plastering		40/-	4 · 13 · -
Chamber below 70 yd ^s @ 6d	1 · 15 · -	To working in 2 door frames to	
June 29		kitch ^e 12/- & building up Old	
To 40 bush ^s of lime 30/- 2 d ^o		Door 12/-	1 · 4 · -
hair 4/- 9 Days labour @ 2/-	2 · 12 · -	To mend ^e Kitching Chimney	
To 2000 larthes 25/- & larth-		6/- & 2 days labour 6/-	12 · -
ing & plaistering 101 yards @		[March] 29	
6d	3 · 15 · 6	To repairing well 10/- & 12	
November 18		days Work of Old George @	
To 2 bush ^s of lime 2/- & alter-		2/6	2 · 0 · -
ing a Grate 5/- & labours work		To 500 bricks 27/6. & Carting	
1/6	8 · 6	them to Farm & building Oven	
1778		24/-	2 · 11 · 6
January 4		To Repairing Chimney in Gar-	
To 2900 Nails @ 20/- p ^r M.		rot 5/- & D ^o in landary 7/6.	
700 larthes @ 2/- & 28 bushels		& Work in Doore Frame to	
of lime @ 1/3	5 · 7 · -	landary. & Repairing the wall	
To 1 bushel of hair @ 2/6. 4		24/-	1 · 16 · 6
days labour @ 3/6	16 · 6	To Working in 6 Celler window	
To larthing & plastering 60		frames @ 12/-	3 · 12 · -
yards @ 7½d.	1 · 17 · 6	July 24	
	£91 · 9 · 11	To 400 bricks @ 5/- (Aug ^t	

24th) 300 bricks 15/- 3 days work of H. W. 15/- & 3 d° George 12/-	5 · 10 · -	[Octob ^r] 17 To 1200 bricks @ 5/- & 4 days of Hu ^d Watkins @ 15/- 2 d° of Self @ 15/-	7 · 10 · -
Septem ^r 2 To 300 D° 15/- 1 days work of H.W. 15/- (24th) to 2000 larthes @ 30/-	4 · 10 · -	To 4 Days work of Phill, & 6 D° of Moses @ 8/-	3 · 4 · -
[Septem ^r] 25 To 2500 4d. Nails @ 36/- p ^r M. 150 20d d° 12/-	5 · 2 · -	[Octob ^r] 24 To 6 Days D° of Phill, & 6 D° of Moses @ 8/-	4 · 16 · -
To 40 bush ^s of lime @ 1/6. & Carting it to farm 30/-	4 · 10 · -	[Octob ^r] 28 To 2 Ditto. Self at 15/- & 2 D° of Moses 16/- 1 bushel of Whitewash 3/- & 4 days of my horse plowing 24/-	3 · 13 · -
To ¾ of a days Carting Cole & Sault from Mr. Plumes	1 · 2 · 6	Novem ^r 7 To 6 D° Jack @ 12/-; 6 D° Mosses @ 8/- & 1 D° p ^r Self 15/-	6 · 15 · -
[Septem ^r] 30 To 40 bush ^s of lime 60/- & Carting it to farm 30/-	4 · 10 · -	[Novem ^r] 14 To 4 D° of Jack @ 12/- (19th) to 400 larthes @ 3/6	3 · 2 · -
To 1200 bricks p ^r Waggon 60/-	3 · 0 · -		
Octob ^r 10 To 1000 larthes 30/- & 15 days work of Jack at 12/-; & 15 d° of Moses @ 8/-	16 · 10 · -		<u>£92 · 8 · -</u>

APPENDIX II

Agreement Relating to the Painting of the St. George Tucker House

HE FOLLOWING AGREEMENT, in St. George Tucker's hand, is among the Tucker-Coleman Papers, in Colonial Williamsburg Archives.

Memorandum of an Agreement made the thirtieth day of August 1798, between S^t George Tucker and Jeremiah Satterwhite, both of Williamsburg.

The said Jeremiah Satterwhite agrees & undertakes to paint the Outside of the dwelling house, & part of the inside, together with the Kitchen & Dairy, belonging to the said S^t George Tucker in the City of Williamsburg, as herein after mentioned, & in the most compleat, & workmanlike manner; taking Care never to paint but in dry Weather, nor at any time when the part to be painted is not perfectly dry.—The tops of the House, Kitchen & dairy are to be painted with Fish-oil mixt in the paint, the oil to be well boiled Linseed Oil, but if it should not be sufficiently boiled, it is to be boiled to a proper Consistency. Every part that is to be painted is to have two good Coats well laid on, in the best Manner. S^t George Tucker hath provided about 240-pounds

of best white Lead; half an hundred weight of Spanish brown; and the like Quantity of yellow Ochre, all ground in oil, and about sixteen Gallons of boiled Linseed Oil; he is further to provide as much fish-oil as will be sufficient to paint the roofs, & sheds, as hereafter mentioned. He has also provided eleven bottles of Spirits of Turpentine, and a sufficient Quantity of Tar, and the said Satterwhite agrees to keep an exact Account of the Quantity of each of these Articles that he may expend in painting the House. The said Satterwhite is to find his own Brushes and a pot to boil the oil, and paint. S^t George Tucker will provide ladders, & furnish every necessary Assistance to him.

The top of the House, the roof of the Shed, and of the covered Way are to be painted with Spanish brown, somewhat enlivened, if necessary, with red Lead, or other proper paint.

The sides of the House, and of the covered way, & the Ends of the house are to be painted a pure White. The outer doors a chocolate colour—the brick underpinning and the other parts of the house below the floor of a dark brick Colour, nearly approaching to a Chocolate colour. The Chair boards, picture slips, Windows, & other

parts of the front & back passage (except the doors & door Cases, which are to be of Chocolate Colour) are to be of a pale Stone colour, or straw Colour. The two small side passages of a Mahogany Colour, except the part leading in the dining room, which is to be of a stone colour.—The platform for the Steps, in front of the house, when finished, is also to be painted of a light stone colour.

The top of the Kitchen, and of the shed leading from the Cellar to the Kitchen yard, are to be painted with Spanish brown, mixed with Tar, & fish oil, & well boiled together. The sides of the Kitchen of yellow Ochre, with a very small mixture of White Lead: the window frames & Sashes of straw-colour, or white: the sliders to the windows in Imitation of the Sashes.

The dairy is to be painted as the Kitchen; the open work under the Eaves white.

When the work is compleated S^t George Tucker

agrees to pay fifty dollars for the same; but in Case he should concieve the work not to be well done, or in Case of disagreement on any other subject, he is to chuse one person & the said Satterwhite another, who, or in the Case of disagreement between them, any third person by them to be chosen shall determine whether any, or what abatement ought to be made, by reason of the work not being compleatly finished, in a masterly workmanlike manner, pursuant to the true Intent & meaning of this Agreement.

In witness whereof the parties aforesaid have subscribed their names to this present instrument of writing the day & year above—

Witness

E. H. Dunbar.

Jeremiah Sattywhite

S^t G. Tucker

NB. The boiled Linseed Oil is not to be used for the Kitchen, the Dairy, or the top of the House.

Notes

CHAPTER I

¹ Though the shortage was not yet as serious as it became at the end of the century. See A. N. B. Garvan, *Architecture and Planning in Colonial Connecticut* (New Haven, 1951), pp. 85-86.

² Mr. James B. Hubbard, of the North Carolina Forestry Department, was good enough to cast his eye over the first draft of the remainder of this paragraph. If any mistakes have crept in since, the fault is not his.

³ P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1907), II, 429-430.

⁴ J. E. Defebaugh, *History of the Lumber Industry of America* (Chicago, 1907), II, 9.

⁵ Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 431. In 1637 Hugh Bullock conveyed to his son William his "Corne Mills Sawmills Plantations" in York County. (Y. C. R., Deeds, Orders, Wills, I, 135.)

⁶ For the pitsaw, see below, pp. 32-34.

⁷ Williams offers the weight-and-pulley device as an improvement; there is nothing to show that it was actually used in Virginia.

⁸ [W. G. Stanard, ed.,] "Letters of William Byrd, First," *V. M. H. B.* (June, 1916), 233.

⁹ M. Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1958), p. 21. (Hereafter cited as Whiffen, *Public Buildings*.)

¹⁰ Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, edited by R. L. Morton (Chapel Hill, 1956), pp. 81, 142. (Hereafter cited as Jones, *Present State*.)

¹¹ *V. G.*, R27Ap69:31.

¹² *V. G.*, PD7Ap74:31.

¹³ *V. G.*, PD14F71:32.

¹⁴ *V. G.*, PD2J172:32.

¹⁵ *V. G.*, PD3S72:32.

¹⁶ *V. G.*, PD13My73:41.

¹⁷ Jones, *Present State*, p. 142.

¹⁸ Some interesting information about sawmills in Virginia's southern neighbor towards the end of the colonial period is contained in letters written by Governor William Tryon to the Board of Trade. On January 30, 1767 he wrote: "... on this river of Cape Fear and on its branches and creeks there are fifty erected and more constructing; chiefly with two saws. Upon a medium each mill is supposed to saw annually one hundred and fifty thousand feet of boards and scantling . . . These mills are constructed to saw planks only of 25 to 30 feet in length." (W. L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* [Raleigh, 1886-1890], VII, 430.) And on February 22: "Tho' the present mills will not allow of plank or scantling exceeding thirty feet and few above twenty five owing to the difficulty of raising a greater length of timber upon the stages of the mills; yet the pine trees will allow planks forty to fifty feet in length which could be sawed by hand in this country in any quantity." (*Ibid.*, 440-441.) One may suppose that the capacity of the Virginian mills was much the same. The length limitation can hardly have mattered when the timber was for housebuilding; when the timber was for shipbuilding—the suitability for which of the yellow and pitch pine of North Carolina Tryon is emphasizing in the second letter quoted—it was an obvious disadvantage.

¹⁹ Mr. Paul Buchanan supplied the information about the different woods found in Williamsburg buildings (information checked by twelve architects, draftsmen, and carpenters employed in the restoration) that is embodied in this paragraph.

²⁰ See Jones, *Present State*, pp. 76-77.

²¹ Such boards were found in place in Williamsburg at the Brush-Everard House, the Archibald Blair House, the Peyton Randolph House, and the Chiswell-Bucktrout House.

²² *An Act for regulating the size and dimensions of Staves, Heading, and Shingles, intended for exportation to Madeira, and the West Indies* (1752), given in Hening, *Statutes*, VI, 233. All such shingles were to be 18½ in. long, 5 in. broad, and ¾ in. thick. Cypress shingles specified for St. Peter's Church, New Kent County in 1700 were to be "18 inches in length and none to be more than 5 inches in breadth or narrower then 3 inches and not to be Lesser than ½ inch or more than ¾ of an inch thick" (C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., *Vestry Book of St. Peter's Parish*, [Richmond, 1937] p. 80); those for Stratton Major Church, King and Queen County in 1760 were to be 20 in. long and ¾ in. thick (C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., *Vestry Book of Stratton Major Parish*, [Richmond, 1931] p. 132). On June 18, 1737 the sloop *Molly* cleared out of the Upper District of James River for Barbados with a cargo that included 4,000 shingles. (V. G., 17Je37:41.)

²³ In 1772 Edward Hughes of Gloucester County advertised "good Pine Heart Shingles" which he would "warrant to be as good as any Cypress." (V. G., PD27F72:32.)

²⁴ In 1767 the roof of Stratton Major Poor House was to be "cover'd with Cypress or Chestnut Shingles, 18 inches long to shew six inches." (Chamberlayne, *Vestry Book of Stratton Major Parish*, p. 159.)

²⁵ Inventories listing sashes include those of James Morris (1718)—"6 Sash Windows" appraised at £1 15s. od. (Papers of Jones Family, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); James Wray (1750)—"2 pr. sashes," appraised with "1 oyl jar, 1 white lead mill" at £3 10s. od. (Y. C. R., XX, Wills, Inventories, 206); Thomas Cobbs (1774)—"14 sashes," appraised at £1 5s. od. (Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 246); Mary Goodson (1782)—"20 pr Sashes and 3 Doors," appraised at £9 os. od. (Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 524).

²⁶ Remains or traces of brick kilns have been found in six or seven places in Williamsburg.

²⁷ Bray Ledger, 1736-1746 and 1773-1779, in possession of Mr. George Burwell.

²⁸ See below, p. 28.

²⁹ Y. C. R., XXIII, Wills, Inventories, 220.

³⁰ N. Lloyd, *A History of English Brickwork* (London, 1928), p. 45.

³¹ Hening, *Statutes*, II, 173.

³² C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., *The Vestry Book and Register of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent and James City Counties, Virginia, 1684-1786* (Richmond, 1937), p. 174.

³³ Lloyd, *A History of English Brickwork*, pp. 98-100.

³⁴ Analogous to the variation in size of bricks before

the nineteenth century is the variation (often, to our eyes, amazing) in the size of the aggregate in Roman concrete.

³⁵ J. C. Harrington, "Seventeenth Century Brick-making and Tilemaking at Jamestown, Virginia," *V. M. H. B.*, LVIII (January, 1951), 35.

³⁶ Information from A. E. Kendrew.

³⁷ "The Restoration Brick Kiln," typescript dated July 19, 1933, Architect's Office, Colonial Williamsburg.

³⁸ In the *Virginia Gazette* alone there are records of the importation of bricks in 1737, 1739, 1745, 1753, and 1768.

³⁹ V. G., 17Je37:41: "Enter'd in York District. June 6. Ship Braxton, of London, Thomas Reynolds, Master, from New-England, with 80,000 Bricks, 10 Barrels of Train Oyl, some Wooden Ware, and 400 Weight of Hops." Whether the bricks were made in England or in New England does not appear.

⁴⁰ Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 41.

⁴¹ Though imported clinkers, or Dutch bricks, were used in cellar floors at Jamestown, and at Green Spring (Governor Berkeley's house in James City County).

⁴² J. Clayton, *Letter to Royal Society, May 12, 1688: Force's Historical Tracts* (Washington, 1844), III, no. 12, quoted by W. Bailey, "Lime Preparation at Jamestown in the Seventeenth Century," *W. & M. Q.*, 2nd series, XVIII (January, 1938), 2-3.

⁴³ See A. P. S. D., VII, 68, article "Shell," and L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford, 1952), p. 89. (The latter work is hereafter cited as Salzman, *Building in England*.)

⁴⁴ The following is based upon W. Bailey, "Lime Preparation at Jamestown in the Seventeenth Century," *W. & M. Q.*, 2nd series, XVIII (January, 1938), 1-12.

⁴⁵ Information from S. P. Moorehead.

⁴⁶ J. Harrower, "A Particular Accott. of every day's Transactions since I left my own house on the 6th Decr. 1773.—& Also any remarkable occurancys either by sea or land," Ms., Colonial Williamsburg Archives.

⁴⁷ Letter to the Commissioners for Building Fifty New Churches in London and the Suburbs thereof, printed in S. Wren, *Parentalia*, edited by C. R. Ashbee and E. J. Enthoven (Campden, Gloucestershire, 1903), p. 195.

⁴⁸ L. B. Wright and M. Tinling, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover 1709-1712* (Richmond, 1941), pp. 52-53, 539-540. Since the first entry notes a report (neither confirmed nor contradicted in any later one) that "the stonecutter" had died, Byrd may have been referring to two men.

⁴⁹ This paragraph is largely based upon a report by R. J. H. Shaw on samples of stone from eighteenth-

century buildings and excavations in Williamsburg sent to him by A. E. Kendrew in June, 1945. (Architectural Records Office, Colonial Williamsburg.)

⁵⁰ Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 138.

⁵¹ Nelson Letter Book (1766-1775), Ms., Colonial Williamsburg Archives.

⁵² See Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 214, n. 30. Another instance of lead proving an unsatisfactory roofing material in the southern colonies is supplied by the history of the Governor's Palace at New Bern, North Carolina. An entry in the Journals of the State Council dated November 18, 1779—only nine years after the completion of the building—refers to "the daily damage the Palace sustains by reason of the lead in several places of the roof being cracked and otherways so much out of repair that every shower of rain runs through, which if not timely prevented will soon destroy the ceiling and otherways considerably damage the rest of the building." (W. Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* [Goldsboro, 1895-1907], XXII, 961.)

⁵³ In 1722/3 the builder of Poplar Spring Church, Gloucester County (James Skelton, for whom see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 136), agreed with the vestry of Petsworth Parish "to Civer the pedements over the dors with Lead." (C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., *The Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County, 1677-1793* ([Richmond, 1933], p. 166.) Belt courses were covered with lead at William and Mary (the main building) and Rosewell, Gloucester County.

⁵⁴ See below, p. 73.

⁵⁵ *V. G.*, PD4My69:33.

⁵⁶ *V. G.*, PD28S69:23. The advertisement also appeared in *V. G.*, R5Oc69:31.

⁵⁷ *V. G.*, PD28D69:31.

⁵⁸ *V. G.*, R18Ja70:32. He made Venetian blinds; see below, p. 21.

⁵⁹ *V. G.*, 8Ag51:32.

⁶⁰ *V. G.*, PD14Mr66:32.

⁶¹ F. N. Mason, *John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia* (Richmond, 1937), p. 169. (Hereafter cited as Mason, *John Norton & Sons*.)

⁶² Hening, *Statutes*, I, 291.

⁶³ Governor Bernard of Massachusetts Bay reported to the Lords of Trade in 1768: "There has been an attempt to make nails [in Massachusetts]; it is found that they cannot be brought within a saleable price." (British Museum, King's Ms. 206, F. 22, transcript, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.) This is the only report of such an attempt from any of the colonies.

⁶⁴ *Y. C. R.*, XX, Wills, Inventories, 206-208.

⁶⁵ It would appear that this way of naming nails was introduced in the fourteenth century and became common in the fifteenth, and that the price had already fallen by the middle of the fifteenth century. See Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 315.

⁶⁶ *E. g.*, inventory of Mathew Tuell (1775), *Y. C. R.*, XXII, Wills, Inventories, 253: "4000 4d nails."

⁶⁷ *E. g.*, invoice of goods for Mann Page (1771), Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 124: "50 M 10d [nails]."

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*: "20 M 20d [nails]."

⁶⁹ Among the goods taken from George Churn, *V. G.*, R7Je70:32.

⁷⁰ In cargo of the ship *Martha*, *V. G.*, PD20Ag72:31.

⁷¹ Invoice of goods for the Earl of Dunmore (1773), Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 330: "2,000 4d [Brads]."

⁷² *Ibid.*: "6,000 20d Brads."

⁷³ Invoice of goods for John Robinson (1770), *ibid.*, p. 120.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

⁷⁷ See H. C. Mercer, "The Dating of Old Houses," *Papers Read before the Bucks County Historical Society*, V, 536-549.

⁷⁸ For Tazewell Hall, which was removed from Williamsburg in 1954, see S. P. Moorehead, "Tazewell Hall: a Report on its Eighteenth-Century Appearance," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XIV, no. 1 (March, 1955), 14-17.

⁷⁹ *V. G.*, D19D77:31.

⁸⁰ See Mercer, "The Dating of Old Houses."

⁸¹ *Y. C. R.*, XX, Wills, Inventories, 206.

⁸² Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 120.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁸⁴ *Y. C. R.*, XX, Wills, Inventories, 206.

⁸⁵ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 120.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁸⁷ *Y. C. R.*, XX, Wills, Inventories, 206.

⁸⁸ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 169.

⁸⁹ The old strap hinges are those on which the shutters to the window in the south gable are hung; the rest of the shutter hinges are reproductions, made to a design based on marks found on the original frames and shutter. The cross garnets are on the back door, the H and HL hinges on room and closet doors throughout the house.

⁹⁰ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 120.

⁹¹ In Wray's inventory we find "1 pr. shutter bolts." (*Y. C. R.*, XX, Wills, Inventories, 206.)

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 124.

- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 169.
⁹⁵ *Ibid.*
⁹⁶ "Inventory of the Personal Estate of his Excellency Lord Botetourt . . ." Ms., Botetourt Papers, Virginia State Archives.
⁹⁷ R. Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia* (London, 1705), edited by L. B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), p. 302. (Hereafter cited as Beverley, *History and Present State.*)
⁹⁸ *V. G.*, 7Ag52:22.
⁹⁹ *V. G.*, PD23Je68:23.
¹⁰⁰ *V. G.*, PD8S68:22.
¹⁰¹ *V. G.*, PD22D68:31.
¹⁰² *V. G.*, PD18Ja72:31.
¹⁰³ *V. G.*, PD20Ag72:31.
¹⁰⁴ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 169.
¹⁰⁵ *V. G.*, PD3Mr68:31.
¹⁰⁶ *V. G.*, D28Ag79:31.
¹⁰⁷ *V. G.*, PD15F70:41.
¹⁰⁸ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 355.
¹⁰⁹ *V. G.*, D24Jl79:22, C13N79:12, C19F80:11.
¹¹⁰ Letter dated July 24, 1739, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.
¹¹¹ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 152.
¹¹² Letter to Gerard Hooe dated August 27, 1775, Letter Book of William Allason, Virginia State Archives.
¹¹³ *V. G.*, P114S75:31.
¹¹⁴ Letter to Archibald Ritchie dated May 17, 1775, Letter Book of William Allason.
¹¹⁵ *V. G.*, P14Je76:31.
¹¹⁶ See below, p. 70.
¹¹⁷ E. g., by *An Act for encouraging the making of Tar and Hemp*, passed in 1722 and re-enacted in 1748; a reward of two shillings was offered for every barrel of tar made according to directions given in the act. (Hening, *Statutes*, IV, 96-99; VI, 144-146.)
¹¹⁸ *W. & M. Q.*, 1st series, XXVI (January, 1918), 214.

CHAPTER II

- ¹ S. F. Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 29.
² Richard Taliaferro (d. 1779), for whom see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 141, was a local example of the type.
³ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds 1755-1763, 463-464.
⁴ Y. C. R., XIII, Deeds, Orders, Wills etc. 1706-1710, 242.
⁵ Y. C. R., V, Deeds 1741-1754, 384.
⁶ Y. C. R., Deed Book VII, 1763-1769, 182-183.
⁷ Hening, *Statutes*, VI, 359.

⁸ E.g., Charles Moss to John Howlett of Gloucester County, carpenter: Y. C. R., Deed Book VIII, 1769-1777, 413. An exception to the general rule that an apprentice was given no more than the legal dues at his freedom after the Act of 1753 is supplied by the indenture by which James May bound himself to William Garrow of Warwick County, bricklayer, in 1765: May was to receive "a new Suit of Cloaths and Tools fit for such an Apprentice." (Y. C. R., Deed Book VII, 1763-1769, 131-132.)

⁹ Y. C. R., XII, Deeds, Orders, Wills etc. 1702-1710, 165.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹¹ Y. C. R., XIV, Orders, Wills etc. 1709-1716, 112.

¹² Y. C. R., XIII, Deeds, Orders, Wills etc., 1706-1710, 242.

¹³ Y. C. R., V, Deeds, 1741-1754, 208.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 425-426.

¹⁵ For apprenticeship in the colonies in general, see Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946), pp. 363-389.

¹⁶ The boy's name was Gabriel Muray. (Y. C. R., V, Deeds 1741-1754, 550.) Another mulatto apprentice of the same master was John Whitlock Surlock, who bound himself at the age of eighteen for six years. (*Ibid.*, 558-559.)

¹⁷ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds 1755-1763, 57-58.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁹ Y. C. R., Deed Book VII, 1763-1769, 106.

²⁰ Hugh Campbell to John Richardson, Y. C. R., V, Deeds 1741-1754, 486.

²¹ *An Act for the better management and security of Orphans, and their estates*, Hening, *Statutes*, V, 453.

²² Y. C. R., Deed Book VIII, 1769-1777, 413.

²³ *V. G.*, PD2Ap67:32.

²⁴ *V. G.*, PD19Ag73:22.

²⁵ See Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 41.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁸ 100 acres in York County, 800 in James City County, and 250 in Gloucester County—assuming that he is the James Morris in the Quit Rent Rolls in each case. *V. M. H. B.*, XXXI (January, 1923), 73; (April, 1923), 158; XXXII (October, 1924), 339.

²⁹ In 1708 he purchased for £200 "two messuages or tenements and tracts of land" on the north side of the upper end of Queen's Creek, containing by estimation 200 acres. (Y. C. R., II, Deeds, Bonds, 293.)

³⁰ Papers of the Jones Family, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, f. 26.

³¹ *Ibid.*, f. 77.

³² But in King's lifetime and for many years after his death simply as "King's."

³³ Y. C. R., XVI, Orders, Wills, 504, dated January 3, 1727/8, proved February 19.

³⁴ Y. C. R., III, Deeds and Bonds, 217-218.

³⁵ Y. C. R., XVI, Orders, Wills, 588.

³⁶ Y. C. R., IV, Deeds, 432.

³⁷ Y. C. R., V, Deeds, 134.

³⁸ Y. C. R., XX, Wills, Inventories, 206-208.

³⁹ Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 141.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴² Carter's Grove Plantation Accounts, in possession of Mr. George H. Burwell.

⁴³ V. G., D1Ap75:33.

⁴⁴ V. G., PD3Ja71:31.

⁴⁵ V. G., PD18Ja70:41.

⁴⁶ V. G., PD18Je67:31.

⁴⁷ W. A. R. Goodwin, *Bruton Church, Williamsburg, Virginia; Brief Historical Notes* (Williamsburg, 1903), p. 125.

⁴⁸ Y. C. R., V, Deeds, 565. The house he built for himself there now stands on Tyler Street; see below, p. 191.

⁴⁹ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 118.

⁵⁰ The patents are referred to in Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 73, 133.

⁵¹ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 73.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 133.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 70, 95.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁵⁶ Y. C. R., VII, Deeds, 79.

⁵⁷ Y. C. R., VIII, Deeds, 439.

⁵⁸ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 299.

⁵⁹ Y. C. R., VII, Deeds, 4.

⁶⁰ Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 150.

⁶¹ V. G., PD3D67:31.

⁶² See Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, pp. 150-152.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁶⁵ The master bricklayer at the Hospital was Samuel Spurr; see below, p. 26.

⁶⁶ V. G., PD22D74:23.

⁶⁷ V. M. H. B., XXVI (October, 1918), 398.

⁶⁸ V. C. S. P., VIII, 149.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁷² V. G., D7Ag79:32.

⁷³ Tombstone in Bruton Parish churchyard.

⁷⁴ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 118.

⁷⁵ Y. C. R., VIII, Deeds, 391, 394, 400.

⁷⁶ Y. C. R., VII, Deeds, 457-458.

⁷⁷ V. M. H. B., I (October, 1893), 192.

⁷⁸ His will is in Y. C. R., XXIII, Wills, Inventories, 222-225.

⁷⁹ H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, 1918), I, 493.

⁸⁰ Y. C. R., III, Deeds, Bonds, 415.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 447.

⁸² G. C. Mason, *Colonial Churches of Tidewater Virginia* (Richmond, 1945), p. 304.

⁸³ Mercer Account Book, Bucks County Historical Society.

⁸⁴ Carter's Grove Plantation Accounts.

⁸⁵ V. G., 12F62:41.

⁸⁶ V. G., PD1D74:31.

⁸⁷ Y. C. R., V, Deeds, 340.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 568.

⁸⁹ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 37.

⁹⁰ Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 145.

⁹¹ Quoted *ibid.*, p. 164.

⁹² V. G., PD8J173:32.

⁹³ V. G., D16Oc79:32.

⁹⁴ V. G., PD21D69:23.

⁹⁵ Y. C. R., Deed Book VIII, 23.

⁹⁶ V. G., PD5S71:32.

⁹⁷ V. G., PD6Je71:32.

⁹⁸ V. G., PD22D74:23.

⁹⁹ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 121.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹⁰¹ List of Heads of Families in Williamsburg in 1782, Ms., Virginia State Archives.

¹⁰² He was responsible for the brickwork of the St. George Tucker House.

¹⁰³ His will, dated August 25, 1788 and proved April 20, 1789, is in Y. C. R., XXIII, Wills, Inventories, 176.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹⁰⁵ In Colonial Williamsburg Archives, it comprises three ledgers: Ledger B, 1776-1791; Ledger C, 1784-1796; Ledger D, 1793-1794. Ledger D contains the accounts of the estate of Humphrey Harwood, Sr., as settled by his son William.

¹⁰⁶ V. G., 20Je55:31.

¹⁰⁷ See for instance the plans of the Ninyon Challoner House (1735), the Daniel Ayrault House (1739), and the James Gordon Farm (1733), at Newport, Rhode Island, reproduced in A. F. Downing and V. J. Scully, *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island* (Cambridge, 1952), plates 71, 72.

¹⁰⁸ For example, V. G., P240c77:33: "Pursuant to the

will of Samuel Hargrove, deceased, will be exposed to public sale, on Monday the 17th of November, at his late dwelling-house. . . . Also to be let, on the same day, the building of a house 20 ft by 26, with a stone or brick chimney. One half of the consideration to be paid on the raising, and the other half when the house is finished in a good and workmanlike manner . . . The *Executors*."

CHAPTER III

¹ British Museum, King's Ms. 206, f. 26, transcript in Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

² Henry C. Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools* (Doylestown, Pennsylvania, 1929), p. 4. But see the note following.

³ Mr. W. L. Goodman, in a letter to the author dated June 1957, suggests another reason: "It is not surprising that the American wedge axe does not figure in your collections, as it is treated as quite a novelty in the earliest tool catalogue I have so far encountered, that of William Marpels & Sons, Sheffield, dated 1864. In spite of Mercer, I would personally put its introduction in its present form to about 1820."

⁴ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 124.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Appraisal dated March 26, 1718, Papers of the Jones Family, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

⁷ *V. G.*, R7Je70:32.

⁸ Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Laboratory, 2-365-28A, 2-509-9L.

⁹ Y. C. R., XX, Wills, Inventories, 207.

¹⁰ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 330.

¹¹ Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Laboratory, 2-26-9A, 2-28-18D.

¹² Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Laboratory, 2-15-16A1, 2-16-19B, 2-21-8C, 2-23-10B, 2-25-11B1.

¹³ J. Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises: or the Doctrine of Handy-Works*, 3rd edition (London, 1703), p. 119.

¹⁴ *V. G.*, R7Je70:32.

¹⁵ *Mechanick Exercises*, See also Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*, figs. 21-24.

¹⁶ *V. G.*, D19D77:31.

¹⁷ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 330.

¹⁸ Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 401.

¹⁹ Appraisal in Papers of the Jones Family.

²⁰ Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 401.

²¹ Y. C. R., XI, Deeds, Wills, 506.

²² The back of the blade, or *plate*, of a saw is thicker than its cutting edge. In order that the slit, or *kerf*, in the wood being sawn may be wide enough for the whole plate to follow through, the teeth are turned outwards;

this is effected by putting the wrest, or saw-set, between each pair of teeth and giving it a wrench.

²³ *V. G.*, D19D77:31.

²⁴ *V. G.*, R7Je70:32.

²⁵ Appraisal in Papers of Jones Family.

²⁶ Y. C. R., XX, Wills, Inventories, 207.

²⁷ Y. C. R., XVIII, Wills, Inventories, 59.

²⁸ Y. C. R., XX, Wills, Inventories, 207.

²⁹ Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 246.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 401.

³¹ See Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*, p. 139.

³² Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 253.

³³ *A. P. S. D.*, II, 119.

³⁴ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 120.

³⁵ Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 401.

³⁶ See Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*, pp. 149-150.

³⁷ For description and illustrations of the frow, frow club, and frow horse see Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*, pp. 11-15.

³⁸ Papers of the Jones Family.

³⁹ Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 401.

⁴⁰ Mr. Mills Brown tells me that he has found a few colonial inventories of the eighteenth century that list both jack planes and fore planes, and points out that the distinction implied is found in nineteenth-century American tool catalogues, which list the fore plane as a slightly longer tool than the jack, corresponding to the English *trying plane*.

⁴¹ Y. C. R., XVIII, Wills, Inventories, 59.

⁴² Y. C. R., XX, Wills, Inventories, 206.

⁴³ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 120.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Papers of the Jones Family.

⁴⁶ *V. G.*, 21Mr55:41.

⁴⁷ Y. C. R., XVIII, Wills, Inventories, 59.

⁴⁸ Y. C. R., XX, Wills, Inventories, 206.

⁴⁹ Papers of the Jones Family.

⁵⁰ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 120.

⁵¹ Tucker-Coleman Mss., Uncatalogued Folder no. 102, Colonial Williamsburg Archives.

⁵² Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*, p. 130.

⁵³ *V. G.*, 21Mr55:41.

⁵⁴ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 120.

⁵⁵ *V. G.*, R7Je70:32.

⁵⁶ *V. G.*, 21Mr55:41.

⁵⁷ Y. C. R., V, Deeds, Orders, Wills, 166.

⁵⁸ Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 124.

⁵⁹ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 120.

⁶⁰ Papers of the Jones Family.

⁶¹ Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 401.

⁶² Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 120.

- ⁶³ *V. G.*, 21Mr55:41.
- ⁶⁴ *Y. C. R.*, XXII, Wills, Inventories, 401.
- ⁶⁵ *Y. C. R.*, XVI, Orders, Wills, 475.
- ⁶⁶ Papers of the Jones Family.
- ⁶⁷ *Y. C. R.*, XX, Wills, Inventories, 207.
- ⁶⁸ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 124.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- ⁷⁰ *Y. C. R.*, XXII, Wills, Inventories, 401.
- ⁷¹ *Y. C. R.*, XX, Wills, Inventories, 207.
- ⁷² Papers of the Jones Family.
- ⁷³ *Y. C. R.*, XX, Wills, Inventories, 206.
- ⁷⁴ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford, 1952), p. 344.
- ⁷⁵ Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 151.
- ⁷⁶ Papers of the Jones Family.
- ⁷⁷ *Y. C. R.*, XXII, Wills, Inventories, 246.
- ⁷⁸ *V. G.*, PD11Ap66:41.
- ⁷⁹ *V. G.*, 21Mr55:41.
- ⁸⁰ *Y. C. R.*, XXII, Wills, Inventories, 401.
- ⁸¹ *Y. C. R.*, XXII, Wills, Inventories, 246.
- ⁸² D12D77:21. The advertisement appears over the name of Maurice Evington, for whom see below, n. 97.
- ⁸³ For carpenters making their own measuring rods see Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*, p. 63.
- ⁸⁴ *Y. C. R.*, XX, Wills, Inventories, 206.
- ⁸⁵ Papers of the Jones Family.
- ⁸⁶ *Y. C. R.*, XVIII, Wills, Inventories, 59. For Mercer on squares see *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*, pp. 54-57, and on wooden and iron squares in the Middle Ages see Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 339.
- ⁸⁷ *V. G.*, 21Mr55:41.
- ⁸⁸ The Lewellin inventory (*Y. C. R.*, XVIII, Wills, Inventories, 59) lists "gouges and squares." It is tempting to read "gauges" for "gouges" here too, because it would be natural to group the drawing instruments together.
- ⁸⁹ *Y. C. R.*, XXII, Wills, Inventories, 401.
- ⁹⁰ *Y. C. R.*, XXIII, Wills, Inventories, 220.
- ⁹¹ J. Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises: the Bricklayer* (London, 1700), p. 9.
- ⁹² *Y. C. R.*, XX, Wills, Inventories, 391.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, 206.
- ⁹⁴ Account in Thomas Jones Papers, Library of Congress.
- ⁹⁵ T. Willsford, *Architectonice* (London, 1659), p. 27.
- ⁹⁶ *A. P. S. D.*, IV, 13.
- ⁹⁷ Under one of his *Virginia Gazette* announcements his name is given as Mardum V. Evengton, under the other as Mardun V. Evington. It first appears in print, under an advertisement for journeymen cabinetmakers and mahogany plank in the *Maryland Gazette* of June 22, 1762, as Mardan Vaghn Eventon, while a walnut secretary at Burlington, King William County, Virginia, is inscribed: "Made by Mardun V. Eventon." (See H. Comstock, "Discoveries in southern furniture: Virginia and North Carolina," *Antiques*, February 1954, pp. 131-133, with ill. on p. 122.) His books, as I assume they were, were advertised for sale in 1777 and again in 1779 by Maurice Evington (*V. G.*, D12D77:21, P12D77:32, D11D79:31). Maurice Evington, the spelling of whose name does not vary, advertised for workmen in 1769 (*V. G.*, R23F69:21) and in 1776 (*V. G.*, D21S76:32). What the relationship of the two Evingtons may have been, I do not know. M. V. Evington presumably died or left Virginia between August and December, 1777.
- ⁹⁸ *V. G.*, D15Ag77:62.
- ⁹⁹ *V. G.*, P15Ag77:31.
- ¹⁰⁰ *V. G.*, D11D79:31.
- ¹⁰¹ *Y. C. R.*, XVI, Orders, Wills, 588.
- ¹⁰² On his death in 1740 Spotswood's books went to the College of William and Mary. The only one to survive in the college library is one volume of a description of Versailles, Trianon, and Marly, published in Amsterdam in 1715. Governor Francis Nicholson's library, when catalogued in 1695, contained no architectural books. (A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *The Early English Colonies* [London, 1908], pp. 39-44.)
- ¹⁰³ *V. G.*, 24My51:32.
- ¹⁰⁴ Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 160.
- ¹⁰⁵ H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840* (London, 1954), p. 541.
- ¹⁰⁶ *V. G.*, PD18Jl17:33.
- ¹⁰⁷ *V. G.*, PD10Je73:31.
- ¹⁰⁸ It was printed in Philadelphia by R. Bell for J. Norman. See H. R. Hitchcock, *American Architectural Books*, 3rd edition (Minneapolis, 1946), p. 103.
- ¹⁰⁹ S. F. Kimball, "Gunston Hall," *S. A. H. J.*, XIII, no. 2 (May, 1954), 7-8.
- ¹¹⁰ H. D. Farish, ed., *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774*, 2nd edition (Williamsburg, 1957), p. 222.
- ¹¹¹ *V. G.*, D19D77:21.
- ¹¹² See T. T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill, 1946), pp. 150-153.
- ¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 156.
- ¹¹⁴ Almanac Account Book, 1778, p. 69, Massachusetts Historical Society.
- ¹¹⁵ This is often listed as a three-volume work (e.g., in catalogue of R.I.B.A. Library). But volume III was entitled *Some Designs for Buildings . . . by James Leoni* and is not always found in the company of the other two.

¹¹⁶ K. M. Rowland, "Robert Carter of Virginia," *Magazine of American History*, (September, 1893), 115-136.

¹¹⁷ Y. C. R., XXII, Wills and Inventories, 401.

¹¹⁸ V. G., PD28J174:32.

¹¹⁹ As recorded in Virginia Gazette Account Book (1751-1752), under date December 12, 1751 (Virginia State Archives). Carter Burwell paid 10s. for the book. (Miss Mary Stephenson brought this to my notice.)

CHAPTER IV

¹ In the account of domestic planning that follows there are necessarily generalizations to which exceptions may be found. It seemed better to treat the subject broadly than to weary the reader with qualifications. To fill in details—and discover exceptions—he may turn to the second part of this book.

² Y. C. R., XII, Deeds, Orders, Wills, 212.

³ Y. C. R., XVIII, Wills, Inventories, 416.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 587-588.

⁵ Y. C. R., XXII, Wills, Inventories, 107-112.

⁶ E.g., the Blue Bell and the Red Lion.

⁷ Beverley, *History and Present State*, p. 290.

⁸ *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (1649), quoted by T. J. Wertenbaker, *The First Americans 1607-1690* (New York, 1927), p. 286.

⁹ Jones, *Present State*, p. 74.

¹⁰ J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (London, 1953), p. 56.

¹¹ See H. C. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's* (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 49-50, 104.

¹² Jones, *Present State*, p. 43. Jones goes on to say that the Virginians "for the most part have contemptible notions of England, and wrong sentiments of Bristol, and the other outports, which they entertain from seeing and hearing the common dealers, sailors, and servants that come from those towns, and the country places in England and Scotland, whose language and manners are strange to them."

¹³ In Western Pennsylvania there are rather later rural examples of the type which presumably were Philadelphia-inspired. See C. M. Stotz, *The Early Architecture of Western Pennsylvania* (New York, 1936), p. 44.

¹⁴ Beverley, *History and Present State*, p. 296.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 299. Cf. letter of William Byrd to Charles, Earl of Orrery, dated July 5, 1726, printed in V. M. H. B., XXXII (January, 1924), 26: "I must own to Yr Ldship that we have about three months that impatient People call warm. . . . Yet there are not 10 days in the whole summer that Yr Ldship would complain of, and they hap-

pen when the Breazes fail us and it is a dead Calme. But then the other nine Months are most charmingly delightfull, with a fine Air and a Serene Sky that keeps us in Good Health and Good Humour. Spleen and vapours are as absolute Rarities here as a Winter's Sun, or a Publick Spirit in England."

¹⁷ Jones, *Present State*, p. 71.

¹⁸ See M. Whiffen, "Some Virginian House Plans Reconsidered," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XVI (May, 1957), 17-19.

¹⁹ T. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London, 1787), W. Peden, ed. (Chapel Hill, 1955), p. 153. (Hereafter cited as Jefferson, *Notes*.)

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 154. The vulnerability to weather of the northern and northeastern parts of a house is touched upon by Edmund Jenings, in a letter dated June 9, 1754 to John Tayloe, who was about to build Mount Airy in Richmond County: "It may be proper to observe that Closets on the North or N. E. part of the House are Generally Damp without Fires being near Them. Also on those aspects No windows (In Gable Ends & not Fronts) should be made." (Edmund Jenings Letter Book, Jenings Family Mementoes and Papers, Virginia Historical Society. I am indebted to Mr. John M. Hemphill II for drawing my attention to this letter.)

²¹ Jefferson, *Notes*, p. 152. The log house was probably introduced into Virginia in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. (See H. R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth* [Cambridge, 1939], pp. 159-160.)

²² The act is printed, with the additions of 1705, in Hening, *Statutes*, III, 419-432.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 172.

²⁴ Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, p. 146.

²⁵ F. Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1950), pp. 314-315.

²⁶ W. H. Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland*, XIX (Baltimore, 1899), 112.

²⁷ The city of Williamsburg was incorporated by royal charter in 1720.

²⁸ See above, p. 53.

²⁹ The name was not a mere matter of custom; the original act ordained that the chief street "shall forever hereafter be called and known by the name of Duke of Gloucester street."

³⁰ Acts compelling the fencing of cleared ground were passed in 1631/2 (Hening, *Statutes*, I, 176), 1642/3 (*ibid.*, 244), 1657/8 (*ibid.*, 458), 1661/2 (*ibid.*, II, 100-101), and 1670 (*ibid.*, II, 279). The act of 1657/8, entitled *What fences shall be sufficient*, ordained "That everie planter shall make a sufficient fence about his cleered ground at the least fower foot and a halfe high."

³¹ In South Carolina, for instance. "In 1706 the building of wooden frame-houses in the town [Charleston] had been declared a common nuisance and prohibited, but now [in 1717] . . . the act was repealed." (E. McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government 1670-1719* [New York, 1897] p. 573.)

³² For discussion of the building provisions in this act see T. F. Reddaway, *The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire* (London, 1940), pp. 80-81 and *passim*.

³³ The requirements for the four classes of London houses are given in Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises* (London, 1703), pp. 262-264. Even the "first and least sort" had to have two stories and a cellar, as well as a garret.

³⁴ Country buildings in Virginia, before and after the act, were often built to measurements derived from the traditional "bay" system, which was based upon a module of 16 ft.—the width needed by two yokes of oxen in the stall. See T. T. Waterman, "The Bay System in Colonial Virginia Building," *W. & M. Q.*, 2nd series, XV (April, 1935), 117-122. The minimum dimensions for the first houses at Savannah, Georgia, were derived from the same system; in 1733/4 the trustees ordained that those who took up lots in the new town should erect "one House of Brick, or framed, square timber work, . . . containing at the least Twenty four feet in length, upon Sixteen in breadth, and eight feet in height." (F. D. Nichols, *The Early Architecture of Georgia* [Chapel Hill, 1957], p. 26.)

³⁵ There was legislation relating to wooden chimneys at Yorktown and Gloucester in 1734 (Hening, *Statutes*, IV, 465), Fredericksburg in 1742 (*ibid.*, V, 209), Richmond in 1744 (*ibid.*, 274), Port Royal, Newcastle, and Suffolk in 1745 (*ibid.*, 387), Smithfield in 1752 (*ibid.*, VI, 274), Staunton, Strasburg, and New London in 1761 (*ibid.*, VII, 475), Fredericksburg again in 1763 (*ibid.*, 651), Manchester in 1769 (*ibid.*, VIII, 422), Tappahannock in 1769 (*ibid.*, 424), and Richmond again in 1773 (*ibid.*, 656). For a photograph of a Virginian cabin with a catted chimney see A. L. Kocher and H. Dearstyne, *Colonial Williamsburg: Its Buildings and Gardens* (Williamsburg, 1949 rev. ed. 1961), p. 18.

³⁶ Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, pp. 80-82, 86, 100, 108, 157-160. But for "Golden Section rectangle" read "root-two rectangle," throughout. (In admitting to an error of this kind—which has been corrected in the 1968 printing—an author must take what comfort he can from the consideration that Dr. Johnson, although he defined "hough" as the knee of a horse, rode as well as the most illiterate fellow in England.)

³⁷ Similarly, in the vertical dimensions slight departures from geometrical exactitude may well have oc-

curred in construction; measurements from ground level are of course at the mercy of changes of grade through the years. Attempts to show that medieval church plans were based upon elaborate geometric figures of the polygram class have been criticized as being dependent upon insufficiently accurate measurements. It would seem rather that owing to inevitable variations in construction the use of such figures can never be proved from the buildings alone. With the simpler figures, such as the square, the root-two rectangle, and the equilateral triangle, the burden of proof is not so heavy, and greater tolerances can reasonably be accepted.

³⁸ See Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 108.

³⁹ For elevation see T. T. Waterman and J. A. Barrows, *Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* (New York, 1932), pp. 80-81. (Cited hereafter as Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Colonial*.)

⁴⁰ See Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 126, for elevation.

⁴¹ For elevation, see Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Colonial*, pp. 46-47.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

CHAPTER V

¹ Smokehouses, lumber houses and the like were sometimes built with heavy (about 4 in. by 6 in.) studs at 12 in. centers, with the object of preventing forcible entry. Market Square Tavern supplies an instance of such construction in a dwelling house (*Fig. 19*).

² Tucker-Coleman Papers, Folder 102, item 7.

³ No example of this type has survived in Williamsburg, but it was doubtless used there.

⁴ Quoted by H. R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 125. The significance of this passage in relation to Williamsburg practice was pointed out to me by S. P. Moorehead.

⁵ J. F. Kelly, *The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut* (New Haven, 1927), pp. 124 (*fig. 126*), 125 (*fig. 127*). (Cited hereafter as Kelly, *Connecticut*.) On p. 127 Kelly describes the arrangement shown as "somewhat common."

⁶ Owen Biddle, *The Young Carpenter's Assistant; or, A System of Architecture adapted to the Style of Building in the United States* (Philadelphia, Richmond and Lexington, 1810), plate 26, facing p. 34. The term is an ancient one, deriving from *raesn* (Anglo-Saxon, a beam); see L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford, 1952), p. 203.

⁷ See F. H. Crossley, *Timber Building in England* (London, 1951), pp. 117-118.

⁵ See J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (London, 1945), p. 52.

⁶ The first term is more familiar today, but the second may have been more commonly used in the eighteenth century. The contract for building the Lower Chapel, Middlesex County, Virginia, in 1717 describes the roof, which is of the type now often called the clipped gable roof, as "hipped above the wind beams." C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., *The Vestry Book of Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, Virginia* [Richmond, 1927], p. 140.

⁷ In this, Virginian practice differed significantly from that of Connecticut, where according to Kelly the curb plates were generally supported by posts resting upon transverse beams or girts. See Kelly, *Connecticut*, p. 60.

⁸ The term clapboard, not often heard in Virginia today, was the common one in the eighteenth century; the reader will have noticed examples of its use in the section on apprenticeship.

⁹ For Williamsburg examples see above Chapter I, n. 21.

¹⁰ See Fig. 21, p. 65.

¹¹ In the early days of the restoration the point was missed and some roofs were redone with closely fitting boards—which rendered the rooms immediately below them practically uninhabitable during summer nights, until the mistake was recognized and rectified. (Information from S. P. Moorehead.)

¹² For more about shingle sizes, see Chapter I, n. 22.

¹³ See above, p. 50, n. 20.

¹⁴ See Salzman, *Building in England*, pp. 228-229.

¹⁵ See Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 212, n. 23.

¹⁶ A. Yarmolinsky, translator, *Picturesque United States of America 1811, 1812, 1813, being a Memoir of Paul Svinin, Russian Diplomatic Officer, Artist, and Author* (New York, 1930), p. 40. Svinin actually described the roofs, "covered with pine or oak shingles," as being "painted with black oil paint"; but surely he was mistaken and should have said tarred.

¹⁷ In this case the roofs were to be painted with Spanish brown, but other colors were used. In 1774 the Scottish tutor, John Harrower, newly arrived in the colony, noted that the roofs of the houses in the main street at Fredericksburg were "all covered with wood made in the form of slates about four Inches broad which when painted bleu you would not know it from a house slated with Isedell slate." (Ms. Journal, Colonial Williamsburg Archives.)

¹⁸ Jones, *Present State*, p. 71: "Here [at Williamsburg] as in other parts, they build with brick, but most commonly with timber lined with cieling, and cased with

feather-edged plank, painted with white lead and oild. . . ."

¹⁹ Not to be confused with the carpenter's tool of the same name, for which see above, p. 33.

²⁰ Or less, for S. P. Moorehead tells me that he has seen arches made of rubbed and gauged bricks cut down the center, the space behind them being filled with mortar.

²¹ Herbert A. Claiborne, *Comments on Virginia Brickwork before 1800* (Boston, 1957). Of forty-five buildings in Virginia having quoins and jambs of rubbed brick, and examined and described by Claiborne, twenty-eight show minimum, nine intermediate, and eight maximum rubbing.

²² This was far the most common type of water table in Virginia as a whole. Claiborne, *Comments on Virginia Brickwork*, notes thirty-eight chamfered, or beveled, water tables, as against five simple set-backs, one cove, six ovolos, and twelve with more elaborate moldings.

²³ *The Builder's Dictionary: or, Architect's Companion* (London, 1734), II, article "Roof."

²⁴ The most considerable remains of brick gutters were found at the Palace and the Palmer House. How extensively they were used in eighteenth-century Williamsburg is a question that cannot be answered. Their bricks, laid in sand, offered themselves rather readily for diversion to other uses.

²⁵ See Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, pp. 42, 227.

²⁶ *A. P. S. D.*, VII, article "Sash." The book quoted is William Horman's *Vulgaria*.

²⁷ *Wren Society*, VII, 98, 108.

²⁸ Quoted in *O. E. D.*, IX, article "Sash."

²⁹ Summerson, *Georgian London*, pp. 52-53.

³⁰ See Martin Lister, *Journey to Paris*, (London, 1699), as quoted in *A. P. S. D.*, VII, article "Sash."

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, 1918-1919), II, 703.

³³ The oldest part of the Peyton Randolph House was found by Colonial Williamsburg architects to be equipped with double-hung sash windows which, by the fixing of the upper valves, had been converted during the eighteenth century to a single-hung arrangement.

³⁴ Summerson, *Georgian London*, p. 52.

³⁵ See Waterman and Barrows, *Domestic Colonial*, pp. 80-81; the variation in window size is more easily seen in the quarter-inch-scale detail, *ibid.*, p. 83.

³⁶ S. P. Moorehead tells me that he has asked a number of people, architects and laymen, to indicate the height of a man on an elevation of the Wythe House

which has been reduced to no standard scale, and that men of eight to nine feet high have been supplied even by architects acquainted with the building. The design of the doors and the exceptionally wide trim of the door frame doubtless contribute to the illusion that the house is smaller than it is.

⁴⁰ Williamsburg exceptions to the rule are supplied by the Brush-Everard House, where the boarding is horizontal, and the Benjamin Waller House, where the dormer cheeks are faced with ordinary weatherboards.

⁴¹ Accounts for 1766-1767 in William and Mary College Papers (College Archives), quoted by H. Dearstyne, "Shutters, Blinds and Umbrelloes," *The Architectural Review*, CXXIII (June, 1958), 420-422.

⁴² See, for instance, Dr. Carter's order to John Norton & Sons quoted above, p. 13. The small quantity of lampblack ordered shows that it was to be used as a toning agent, and the same may be said of the "3 lb. Lamp-Black" sent for by John Page of Rosewell the same year, in an order that included "100 lb. of white Lead," "20 lb. yellow Ochre," "20 lb. of Venetian red," and "5 lb. of Red Lead." (Mason, *John Norton & Sons*, p. 199.) The papers of William Allason, merchant of Falmouth, Virginia, give the price of lampblack in the decade 1760-1770 as 7s. 6d. per barrel and 5s. 6d. per small barrel. (Virginia State Archives.)

⁴³ See above, p. 52.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, these items from John Blair's account with Humphrey Harwood:

1789

June 23

To whitewashing 7 Rooms & 4 passages	
@ 3/9	£2 · 1 · 3
To ditto 2 closets 2/6	5 · 0

1790

September 22

To whitewashing 7 Rooms @ 3/-	1 · 1 · 0
To ditto 4 passages @ 2/-	8 · 0
To ditto 2 closets & porch 3/-	3 · 0

1791

April 3

To whitewashing Room 3/-	3 · 0
To whitewashing 3 Rooms & 2 passages	
@ 3/6-	17 · 6
To ditto the Porch 1/3-	1 · 3
(Harwood Ledger)	

⁴⁵ J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-1934), II, 23. A valuable research report on the subject of wallpaper in Virginia has been compiled by Miss Mary A. Stephenson (typescript, Department of Research, Colonial Williamsburg).

⁴⁶ V. G., R5D66:32.

⁴⁷ V. G., PD8Oc67:21.

⁴⁸ Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, p. 220, n. 8.

⁴⁹ V. G., P8Ag77:22. The house was the predecessor of that known today as the Norton-Cole House.

⁵⁰ V. G., PD9My71:32.

⁵¹ It is a well-known fact, which has been called unexplained, that eighteenth-century houses in the provincial cities and towns of England tend to have much richer and more elaborately detailed fronts than their London contemporaries. Surely the explanation is that in such places the standard was set by what were the *first* houses of rich merchants, and not, as in London, by the *second* houses of the nobility and gentry.

NELSON-GALT HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., Deeds, Bonds, II, 268. The house takes its present name from the two families that owned it respectively from some date in the second quarter of the eighteenth century until about 1820 and from the latter date until its acquisition by Colonial Williamsburg.

² Y. C. R., II, Deeds, Bonds, 295, and III, Deeds, Bonds, 267. The house stands some way behind the Francis Street building line, and this has been thought to indicate that there was a house here before Williamsburg was laid out. The absence of any mention of one in the 1707 deed is sufficient disproof. And it should be remembered that the acts of Assembly of 1699 and 1705 did not establish the building lines on the "back streets"; this was left to "the directors . . . or . . . the incorporation of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of Williamsburg." (See p. 54, above). Robertson's house was one of the first on Francis Street, and it is reasonable to suppose that the building line had not yet been established when it was built.

³ There are heavy posts, braced on each side, in the north and south walls about 6 in. inside the line of the chimney breasts and closet partitions. These posts have mortises cut, as for braces, in their inner faces too—which suggests that they were intended to be corner posts. If they were originally the corner posts of the house, the chimneys must have been rebuilt when it was lengthened. This is not impossible, but it is at least as likely that the plan was altered before construction was finished.

JOHN BLAIR HOUSE

¹ For which see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, pp. 114-117.

² Humphrey Harwood Ledger C, p. 3: "THE

HON'BLE. JOHN BLAIR ESQ^R . . . 1790 March 16
To building up the Jambs of the library Chimney. . ."
The term library occurs in the records of eighteenth-century Virginia more often in the sense of a collection of books than in that of a room for them.

PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE

¹ The lot on which the house stands was granted to William Robertson, with the usual stipulation that he should build a house upon it within two years, in November, 1714. (Y. C. R., Bonds and Deeds, III, 28.)

² *Virginia Gazette or the Independent Chronicle*, February 1, 1783. The stair passages in the western and central portions, though somewhat room-like in plan, would no more have been counted as rooms in the eighteenth century than they would be so counted today.

³ The evidence consisted of sawn-off upper-floor joists flanked by large studs (5 in. by 8 in.) 8 ft. apart, patching of the corresponding section of the cornice with indications of another cornice having returned into it at the ends, and remains of foundations, 8 ft. wide, projecting a little more than 5 ft. from the center of the north front.

⁴ Tuckahoe, Goochland County, which is said to have been built about 1712 and enlarged after 1730, is a wooden house which has a *molded* string at this level.

ARCHIBALD BLAIR HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., Deeds, Bonds, Book III, 126-127.

² In 1728 Sarah, a mulatto slave belonging to Blair, was charged in the York County court with setting fire to the house and burning part of it, found guilty and, sentenced to death by hanging. She was valued at £18. (Y. C. R., Orders, Wills, XVI, 511.)

³ To judge from Mutual Assurance Society Policies, nos. 1523 and 5045 (Virginia State Archives).

JAMES GEDDY HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., III, Deeds, 149-150.

² *Ibid.*, 297-298.

³ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 276-278.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 288-290.

⁵ See M. Whiffen, *An Introduction to Elizabethan and Jacobean Architecture* (London, 1952), pp. 33 and 60. In Williamsburg the Lightfoot House (p. 131, below) has a newel post which descends from the half-landing to the ground floor. Walnut Valley, Surry County, which would seem to date from around the middle of the century, has a stair with two newel posts rising from the

upper landing to the ceiling. (Information from S. P. Moorehead.)

BRUSH-EVERARD HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., III, Deeds, 246-247.

² Y. C. R., VIII, Deeds, 374.

³ The dormers were cut in after the roof had been framed. This was common enough practice even when a house was designed to have dormers from the first. But in this case a rather rough and ready job was made of it, and this may be held to indicate that the house was originally built without dormers.

⁴ When the house was restored conclusive evidence was found of the parts of the walls now behind paneling having once been plastered.

⁵ The discovery of fragments of a yellow and white wallpaper under the cornice of the south room, which must therefore have been papered before the cornice was installed, may be thought to suggest a later date, because there is no definite record of wallpaper being used in Williamsburg before George III's reign. (More wallpaper, patterned in blue and gray, was found in the northeast room on the ground floor.)

⁶ The plan of Williamsburg, dated 1782 and probably made by a French army cartographer for billeting purposes, in the possession of the College of William and Mary, which is reproduced on the end papers of this volume.

GEORGE REID HOUSE

¹ Cf. the John Blair House and the Moody House (pp. 94-95 and 116-117).

² V. G., P114S75:32; V. G., D11N75:31.

LUDWELL-PARADISE HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., Deeds, Bonds, II, 30. The Paradise referred to in the name was Lucy, widow of Dr. Johnson's friend, John Paradise, scholar and linguist, who died in London in 1795. A granddaughter of Philip Ludwell II, Mrs. Paradise, who is said to have enjoyed riding in her coach as it stood parked in one of the rooms, lived in the house from 1805 until she was removed to the Hospital for the Insane in 1812.

MOODY HOUSE

¹ For plans of some New England examples of the type see Kelly, *Connecticut*, pp. 8-12.

PRENTIS STORE

¹ The evidence for this dating is contained in the annual accounts of Prentis and Company, Webb-Prentis Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia; it is so conclusive as hardly to need the support of the discovery, made when the building was re-examined in 1959, of the date 1740 scratched in the plaster of the gable end of the loft. The Prentis accounts also show that the building was valued at the considerable figure of £200.

² With four framed trusses, which originally had queen posts, and an unusually regular system of wind braces. Each wind brace is tenoned into a principal rafter at one end and into a purlin at the other, and each set of four wind braces forms a St. Andrew's cross between each pair of trusses on either side of the roof.

³ Their fading out on the west side is doubtless due to the fact that most of this side was hidden by a neighboring building—as was pointed out to me, together with other significant details of the Prentis Store, by Mr. E. Leroy Phillips.

⁴ For the Shirley dependencies see Waterman, *Mansions*, pp. 173-174.

⁵ A contract for a store to be built at Petersburg, Virginia, in 1785 specifies "one large dormant window in the front & fixed with a beam . . . to draw goods up." (Tucker-Coleman Papers, Folder 67.) There is no evidence of the Prentis Store having had such a beam.

⁶ The term counting room is frequently found in advertisements of stores in eighteenth-century Virginia. E.g., those of John Pagan, *V. G.*, 25Ap51:41; William Rand, *V. G.*, PD6N66:31; James Buchanan and John Finnie, *V. G.*, PD20Je71:33.

⁷ Y. C. R., XXI, Wills and Inventories, 260.

BENJAMIN WALLER HOUSE

¹ In Y. C. R., V, Deeds, 334.

² See pp. 116-117.

³ Wetherburn's Tavern (see below, p. 185) also has horizontal weatherboards on the dormer cheeks.

ROBERT CARTER HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., V, Deeds, 167-169.

² *Ibid.*, 299-301.

³ *Ibid.*, 468-471.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 585-588.

⁵ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 356-361.

⁶ Carter wrote to Saunders about the latter's "Proposal to purchase my Property in Palace Street" in April, 1796. (Robert Carter Letters: Letter Book 1794-1796, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.) The Williamsburg land tax records show that Saunders owned it by 1801.

⁷ John Blair noted in his diary on November 1, 1751: "The council desired me to contract for the rent of a house for the Govn'r on the terms spoke to in council, wch amounted to £70 per anno with leave to hire Col. Ludwell's house for half a year at a venture, £40." (*W. & M. Q.*, 2nd series, VIII, 14.)

⁸ The prices at which the property changed hands were as follows: Charles Carter to Cary, £103 8s. od.; Cary to McKenzie, £224 13s. 2d.; McKenzie to Philip Grymes, Receiver General of Virginia, £537 10s. od.; Grymes to Nicholas, £450 os. od.; Nicholas to Robert Carter, £650 os. od.

⁹ See Waterman, *Mansions*, pp. 246-250, 336-337.

¹⁰ The length of the front of Milton House is given in the engraving as 44 ft. 6 in.; the Brice House front extends 41 ft.

GEORGE WYTHE HOUSE

¹ Previously the date has been given as "about 1755." However, Taliaferro was granted the western lot of the two which constituted the property in 1748, the usual building clause being included in the deed. (Y. C. R., V, Deeds, 256-258.) No record has survived of his purchase of the eastern lot, but it is reasonable to assume that he purchased it from a private owner at the same time, and that the house was built within two years so as to "save" the two lots.

² See Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, pp. 140-143.

³ The date of Taliaferro's purchase of Powhatan is uncertain, but it would seem likely that he purchased it from Benjamin Weldon, who advertised land for sale there in 1752. (*V. G.*, 15S52:32.) For a photograph of the house see Waterman, *Mansions*, p. 202. Its hipped roof (burnt in the Civil War) has since been restored.

⁴ Mrs. T. Rutherford Goodwin, on the basis of a study of the uses and names of rooms in colonial Virginia and of George Wythe's known needs, tastes, and habits, has suggested that the rooms on the ground floor of the house—those on the upper floor being of course bedchambers—may in Wythe's time have been as follows: dining room; drawing room or parlor; study; back parlor or library. ("The George Wythe House: Its Furniture and Furnishings," typescript, 1958, Department of Research, Colonial Williamsburg.)

LIGHTFOOT HOUSE

¹ In 1747 Philip Lightfoot devised to his son John his "Lots and Houses in the City of Williamsburg" and bequeathed to him "the Furniture in the House at Williamsburg." (Y. C. R., XX, Wills, Inventories, 103-105.) John Lightfoot died without male issue in 1751, and in accordance with the terms of his father's will the property went to his brother William, on whose death in 1767 it was inherited by his son, later well known as "William Lightfoot of Tedington." The earliest indication of the location of the Lightfoot lots is in the act of Assembly of 1769 defining the boundary between York and James City counties within the city. (Hening, *Statutes*, VIII, 405-406.)

² M. H. Woodfin and M. Tinling, ed., *Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover 1739-1741* (Richmond, 1942), pp. 75-76.

³ "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America in the year 1736. (From *The London Magazine*, July, 1746.)", *W. & M. Q.*, 1st series, XV (April, 1907), 222.

⁴ For a newel post going up to the ceiling see above, the James Geddy House.

TAYLOE HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 234.

² Y. C. R., V, Deeds, 475.

³ A notable exception to this rule is supplied by Mulberry, on the Cooper River, South Carolina, which has four corner pavilions covered by ogee roofs and dates from the second decade of the eighteenth century. Another Virginian example is the roof of the octagonal summerhouse at Federal Hill, Fredericksburg; the Historic American Buildings Survey assigns this to the late eighteenth century.

PALMER HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., IV, Deeds, 150-151.

² H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1727-1740* (Richmond, 1910), 312.

³ *V. G.*, 17N38:42.

⁴ The *Maryland Gazette* of May 9, 1754, reported that two dwelling houses and a jeweler's shop were destroyed by the fire, as well as the store in which it started, and put the loss at "upwards of Five Thousand Pounds"—which was probably an exaggeration. L. G. Tyler, ed., "Narrative of George Fisher," *W. & M. Q.*, 1st series, XVII (January, 1909), 150-153, gives a fascinating eyewitness account.

⁵ See p. 74, above.

⁶ The work was done for the then owner William Page, and the entry is in Humphrey Harwood's Account Book, Ledger B, 1776-1791, p. 20, under the date February 22, 1779:

To putting in Cellar window frames

48/- & Stopping pudlock Holes 40/- . . £4 . 8 . - Harwood did some fairly extensive repairs for a subsequent owner, John Drewidz, both to the house and to the snuff factory which then stood behind or beside it, in 1782-1785. (*Ibid.* pp. 45, 47, 81.)

⁷ Connoisseurs of putlog holes will find some more in the east end of Bruton Parish Church.

NICOLSON SHOP

¹ Y. C. R., VIII, Deeds, 316.

² Policy no. 112, Mutual Insurance Society, Virginia State Archives.

³ Policies no. 645 and 1521, Mutual Insurance Society.

AYSCOUGH HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., XXI, Wills and Inventories, 402-403.

² *V. G.*, PD6Oc71:31.

³ *V. G.*, PD2oS70:32.

⁴ The Frenchman's Map shows a building some 60 ft. long on the site, and it may well be—absence of foundations notwithstanding—that the eastern portion of this was the house or tavern. But the Frenchman's Map would seem to be none too accurate with respect to this part of the town.

⁵ *V. G.*, PD10Oc71:31.

BRACKEN HOUSE

¹ His name appears on the property in two contemporary maps, the Browne Map (about 1780) and the College Map (1791?).

EWING HOUSE

¹ His will is in Folder 199, Southall Papers, College of William and Mary.

² The east room on the ground floor was originally unplastered, with the studs and the back of the weatherboards whitewashed and the joists and underside of the floorboards above painted. It must have been a storeroom.

COKE-GARRETT HOUSE

¹ In the Williamsburg land tax records for the year 1837 the estate of Richard Garrett is charged with "2 new buildings recently erected and assessed . . . at \$1200" (Virginia State Archives). It seems reasonable to suppose that the brick office was one of them. But its brickwork, in Flemish bond with regular glazed headers and closers, is extraordinary for so late a date.

² Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 15.

³ Lots 361, 281 and 282, purchased from John Mundell, gaoler, in 1740. (Y. C. R., IV, Deeds, 610-611.)

⁴ As indicated by an advertisement in *V. G.*, PD12Ja69:41.

⁵ Excavations carried out in 1958-1959 revealed little of the character of this house, but established that it was destroyed by fire about 1820.

⁶ According to R. A. Lancaster, *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches* (Philadelphia, 1915), p. 70, Weyanoke was built in 1740; but it is hard to believe that the stair should be dated before the third quarter of the century. Other examples in Virginia are at Battersea in Petersburg, and Brandon in Prince George County, both attributable to the period 1765-1770. Both of them, and also Weyanoke, are illustrated in Waterman, *Mansions*, pp. 221, 371, 377.

POWELL-WALLER HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., VIII, Deeds, 4.

² Y. C. R., VI, Deeds, 118.

³ Y. C. R., VII, Deeds, 44.

⁴ Today, Waller Street is considered to run to the end of Nicholson Street, but in the deed of 1763 the boundary of the property to the west was described as "the street leading to Queen Mary's Port" (i.e., Capitol Landing).

⁵ The triangular foundations of the chimney still exist in the basement.

⁶ Y. C. R., VIII, Deeds, 268. The doctor was Robert Page Waller, son of Benjamin Carter Waller.

CHARLTON HOUSE

¹ L. B. Wright and M. Tinling, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712* (Richmond, 1941), p. 161.

² Y. C. R., Deeds, V, 394. The deed is a conveyance of three lots, of which the numbers are not given but which can be identified as nos. 22, 23 and 24, from James Crosby to Alexander Archibald Buchanan and Company.

³ If, as seems likely enough, it was as representative of Buchanan and Co. that the Glasgow agent Adam Stewart received £240 from Edward Charlton. (Ledger of George Washington, B, p. 4, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.)

MARKET SQUARE TAVERN

¹ Memoranda of leases dated July 3, 1749 and February 9, 1750, Ms., Colonial Williamsburg Archives. The term was twenty-one years, the ground rent £5 per annum, and there was "a Covenant for renewing the lease upon paying a fine of 3 years Rent provided the Same is Sued out at least 3 years before this lease Expired and with a like Covenant for Renewing from Time to Time for ever." This leasehold arrangement, resorted to because Market Square was inalienable, represents an interesting departure from the usual kind of grant.

² *V. G.*, PD12F67:32.

³ *V. G.*, PD30Ag70:32.

⁴ *V. G.*, PD26S71:31. One of Maupin's customers was Patrick Henry, who in 1776 was billed by him for £19 11s. 0d. for saddles, harness, etc. (Ms., Colonial Williamsburg Archives.)

⁵ See p. 63, and p. 209, n. 1.

ALLEN-BYRD HOUSE

¹ 1 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in., as against 2 ft.

² *V. G.*, PD5Ap70:41.

³ *V. M. H. B.*, XXXVIII (January, 1930), 60.

⁴ *V. G.*, D14Mr77:62.

⁵ *V. G.*, D15My78:41.

JAMES SEMPLE HOUSE

¹ Gratz Collection, letters of American Jurists, Pennsylvania Historical Society.

² Mutual Assurance Society Declaration for Assurance No. 486, Virginia State Archives.

³ Waterman, *Mansions*, p. 380.

⁴ The drawing was first published by S. F. Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect* (Cambridge, 1916), plate 119. Kimball suggested, at that time, that it might be a study for Brandon, Benjamin Harrison's house in Surry County, Virginia; later (as F. D. Nichols tells me) he came to regard it as an early study for Monticello. The possibility that it was a study for the Semple House was first noticed by A. L. Kocher and H. Dearstyne (James Semple House Architectural Report, typescript, Architectural Research Office, Colonial Williamsburg).

⁵ See Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect*, pp. 105, 149.

⁶ See Waterman, *Mansions*, pp. 378-379.

⁷ Second edition (London, 1755), plate XVII, No. 1, "The Plan and Elevation of a small Farm, House, &c."

⁸ From 1830 to 1860 an outwardly similar type of house with Greek detail (often including a portico) was popular. Propagated by the pattern books of Asher Benjamin, it had no connection with the Semple House, of course.

⁹ See T. T. Waterman and F. B. Johnston, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1941), p. 37.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 93.

BARRAUD HOUSE

¹ Mutual Assurance Society Declaration 1-195, Policy no. 108, Virginia State Archives.

² W. B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century* (Richmond, 1931), p. 343.

³ Folio B, p. 58. Humphrey Harwood continued to do various small bricklaying, plastering, and whitewashing jobs for Barraud until 1788, and his son, William, did more in 1790-1792.

ST. GEORGE TUCKER HOUSE

¹ Excavations in 1931 revealed the foundations.

² What would appear to be his estimate for the work contains the item: "the Old Roof taken down & A New Dutch Roof [i.e., a gambrel] put on with 6 Dormond Wind'rs." (Tucker-Coleman Papers, folder 28.) Tucker must have had second thoughts about the way to get more space and headroom on the upper floor.

³ Above, p. 64.

TALIAFERRO-COLE HOUSE

¹ See above, p. 51.

² The relevant insurance policies are nos. 1516 and 7582 of the Mutual Assurance Society (Virginia State Archives). The Millington drawing is in the possession of the College of William and Mary.

³ The window in place in the shed at the time of the restoration belonged to the first building period and had evidently been moved from the corresponding position in the south wall of the original house.

TALIAFERRO-COLE SHOP

¹ *The Virginia Gazette or Weekly Advertiser*, January 26, 1782, p. 3.

² Mutual Assurance Society Policy no. 991, Virginia State Archives.

WETHERBURN'S TAVERN

¹ Henry Wetherburn operated the Raleigh Tavern, diagonally across the street, from 1731 until December of 1742, when he was evicted (Y. C. R., XIX, Wills and Inventories, 138, 148). He had purchased this property in 1738 and had begun thereafter to build on it (Y. C. R., IV, Deeds, 540-541).

² It is believed that this addition was completed by March, 1752, when Wetherburn advertised a ball to be held in his tavern (V. G., 5Mr52:32) and had 100 tickets printed (Virginia Gazette Day Book, March 6, 1752; ms in Alderman Library, Univ. of Va.). The original eastern section alone would not have been large enough to accommodate this many people.

TIMSON HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., III, Deeds, 109-110.

² *Ibid.*, 185.

³ *Ibid.*, V, Deeds, 134.

NICOLSON HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., V, Deeds, 363, 426.

POWELL-HALLAM HOUSE

¹ Y. C. R., V, Deeds, 565; *ibid.*, VIII, Deeds, 219.

BASSETT HALL

¹ V. G., PD6Je66:31.

TRAVIS HOUSE

¹ Mutual Assurance Society Policy no. 14,390, Virginia State Archives.

² John Pendleton Kennedy, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1761-1765*, (Richmond, 1907), p. 335, May 11, 1765.

³ Mutual Assurance Society Policies nos. 186, 957, 2355, and 10,736, Virginia State Archives.

GRIFFIN HOUSE

¹ The marriage agreement between Samuel Griffin and Elizabeth Braxton is among the Corbin Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Archives.

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